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CONTENTS

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BULGARIA

Political Benefit of FRG's Gensher Visit Viewed C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 18 Dec]
Greek Communist Party Delegation Visits C 2
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 16 Dec]
Protest Against Union Rights Abuse in Turkey C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak, Fojtik Meet With MSZMP's Berecz in Prague D 1
Session of Bloc Scientific Representatives Ends D 1
[RUDE PRAVO 20 Dec]
Lenart Receives Representatives D 1
Reportage on Slovak National Council Session D 2
Czech Council Approves 1987 Plan, Budget D 2
Potac Notes Kcs27.3 Billion for Defense in 1987 D 3
[RUDE PRAVO 20 Dec]
Lenart Chairs Slovak National Front CC Session D 3
Presidium, Trade Unions Discuss Tasks of 1987 D 4
[Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Dec]
Nuclear Plant 3d Block in Action 11 Days Early D 4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Daily Comments on USSR Nuclear Test Moratorium E 1
[Kohlmetz in BERLINER ZEITUNG 20-21 Dec]
Beil Meets With Italy's Prime Minister in Rome E 2
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 18 Dec]
Deputy Foreign Minister Speaks at UN Session E 2

HUNGARY

1987 Goods Exchange Agreement Signed With USSR F 1
Church Shows Concern for Minorities in Romania F 1
[DIE PRESSE 23 Dec]

POLAND

Jaruzelski 1 Dec International News Conference G 1
[RZECZPOSPOLITA 3 Dec]
Changes Announced in Internal Affairs Ministry G 26

ROMANIA

Meeting on Chemical Weapons-Free Balkans Ends H 1
Bobu Addresses Higher Health Council Meeting H 1

YUGOSLAVIA

BORBA Comments on USSR's Alma-Ata Demonstrations I 1
Artukovic's Clemency Rejection, Legal Options I 1
Presidency Submits Names of Council Nominees I 2
Celebrations, Addresses Commemorate Army Day I 2
Presidency Decrees Promotions I 2
[BORBA 20-21 Dec]
Officers Decorated I 3
Hasani Greets Armed Forces I 3
Hasani Addresses Delegation I 4
Dizdarevic Greets Mamula I 5
Mamula Pays Tribute to Tito I 6
Tito's Military Theory Lauded I 6

POLITICAL BENEFIT OF FRG'S GENSCHER VISIT VIEWED

AU191706 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Dec 86 p 5

[Unattributed commentary: "Beneficial Political Contacts"]

[Text] The working visit to Bulgaria of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG's vice chancellor and federal minister of foreign affairs, has ended. In assessing the importance of this event, we cannot fail to note that this was Hans-Dietrich Genscher's fifth visit to Bulgaria and his first visit to a socialist state since that unique peak in international relations marked by the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik. Of course, the main criterion for assessing the timeliness and content of the dialogue in Sofia does not solely consist of this, because attention was given to a very wide range of issues concerning bilateral relations and the world situation and, what is more, at the end of a year filled with an intense exchange of delegations and useful visits to both countries. The most important thing is that a frank atmosphere and clear businesslike tone always accompanied the intense exchange of views in the talks between the guest from the FRG and State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov.

Bilateral relations naturally formed one of the central topics of the talks. The different aspects of these relations in the fields of politics, economics, culture, science and technology, tourism, and transportation were comprehensively reviewed. The discussion covered not only the achievement, but also the problems, unutilized possibilities, and prospects for beneficial cooperation in all these directions. Particular importance was laid on political contacts and their stimulating effect on all other fields of relations. The mutual view was voiced that meetings of both the foreign ministers and the leaders on the whole spectrum of bilateral links are very important.

The responsible and tense stage which is interrupting the development of world affairs could not fail to be reflected in the regular Bulgarian-West German dialogue, and this only serves to emphasize the importance of this dialogue. Certain differences were unavoidable in the assessments of the reasons for the present situation. However, there is no doubt about the constructive impulse provided by the common view on the dangers inherent in the continuing arms race and about a readiness to work for greater security in Europe and throughout the world. Both sides stressed the great importance they give to the Vienna and Stockholm forums. The useful talks on the issues of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons disarmament confirmed that today world politics urgently demand and at the same time reveal a substantial field for an active independent contribution by medium-sized and small states toward continuing and deepening the dialogue between East and West. In this context, prospects are especially opened by the mutual conviction expressed in Sofia that in international affairs there can be no going back to the time before the Reykjavik meeting.

Here we can see the latest evidence of how necessary and beneficial it is to make tireless efforts on a bilateral and international footing for a frank and constructive dialogue. And this pressing requirement exists both in its own right and, at the same time, because states like Bulgaria and the FRG belong to opposing military-political alliances and socioeconomic and political systems.

GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION VISITS

AU172107 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 86 p 6

[Text] The meetings of the delegation from the Athens City Committee of the Greek Communist Party [KKE], headed by Dhimitrios Gondikas, member of the KKE Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the committee, proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

The guests were received by the Comrades Pencho Kubadinski and Chudomir Aleksandrov.

They held talks with Anastasiy Donchev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, and with other representatives of the Sofia city party leadership; they met Boris Velchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, as well as secretaries of the Komsomol Central Committee; they visited economic institutions, higher educational institutes, as well as cultural and historic sites.

The KKE delegation members were warmly welcomed wherever they went and manifested lively interest in different aspects of our sociopolitical and economic life. The hosts briefed them on the tasks in which the Bulgarian people are now engaged and about our aspirations to achieve a new quality improvement in our economy and in other sectors of our social activities.

The delegation paid this visit to our country at the invitation of the Sofia City BCP Committee.

PROTEST AGAINST UNION RIGHTS ABUSE IN TURKEY

AU231055 Sofia BTA in English 0918 GMT 23 Dec 86

["Against TU Rights Abuses in Turkey" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA) -- In connection with the more than four-year-long trial in Turkey against the leaders and the activists of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (D.I.S.K.), on which the Turkish Military Tribunal is due to deliver a ruling today, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions has sent a protest telegram to Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, to the Military Tribunal in Istanbul and to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. The cable reads:

"On behalf of Bulgaria's working people, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions expresses indignation over the gross violations of trade union rights and democratic freedoms in Turkey. We urge most energetically for an immediate dismissal of the framed-up case against the leaders and the activists of D.I.S.K. and for an end to the threats and repressions to which they are subjected.

"Joining the just demand of the international community for the absurd charges against D.I.S.K. to be dropped and for its defendant leaders to be acquitted, we insist on the provision of guarantees for the resumption of the confederation's activities and for an end to the persecution of working people in Turkey because of their trade union membership."

HUSAK, FOJTIK MEET WITH MSZMP'S BERECZ IN PRAGUE

LD190339 Budapest MTI in English 2206 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Text] Prague, December 18 (MTI) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, met Janos Berecz, secretary of the HSWP CC, in Prague on Thursday. In cordial, comradely talks the parties expressed satisfaction over the development of relations between the two parties and the two countries. They stressed the importance of bilateral cooperation in solving tasks of socialist economic development; deepening socialist international integration, in the struggle for strengthening peace and for disarmament.

Janos Berecz held talks with Jan Fojtik, alternate member of the CPC CC Presidium and secretary of the CC. The parties paid particular attention to the topical issues of ideological work and the further deepening of inter-party cooperation.

SESSION OF BLOC SCIENTIFIC REPRESENTATIVES ENDS

AU231053 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 86 p 2

[CTK report: "Session of FeNTO's Executive Committee Ends"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The 4-day session of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Scientific-Technical Societies of the Socialist States (FeNTO) ended in Bratislava on Friday [19 December] with the signing of a Final Protocol on the joint course in ensuring the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries. The session was attended by general secretaries of scientific-technical organizations and societies from the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, the SRV, and the CSSR.

The session noted that the coordinated course in realizing the scientific-technical development of the socialist countries has yielded good results in the computerization [elektronizace] of the national economy, in comprehensive automation, in the development of nuclear energy, new technologies, and biotechnology. The final protocol expresses the endeavor of the socialist countries to deepen cooperation in propagating new forms and methods of work, in raising the technical standard of products and a more economical utilization of raw and other materials and energy. [passage omitted]

Lenart Receives Representatives

LD200603 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 19 Dec 86

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, today in Bratislava received representatives of the Federal of Scientific and Technical Societies from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In connection with the wide international peace offensive, he emphasized the vital need for the market activation os science and technology workers who have a real idea about the possible consequences of a nuclear conflict. Comrade Jozef Lenart also informed them about progress in the intensification of the Czechoslovak national economy.

REPORTAGE ON SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION

LD112331 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 11 Dec 86

[Editor Ladislav Mikus report]

[Text] The fourth meeting of the Slovak National Council opened in Bratislava today. Speaking at the session right now is Branislav Biros, joint report presenter of the committees. A lunch break will follow. At today's fourth meeting of the Slovak National Council, which was opened and is chaired by its chairman, Viliam Salgovic, the deputies cordially welcomed CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka and, among other guests, Comrade Jan Kolacny, member of the Czech National Council presidium.

At the beginning of the deliberations the deputies unanimously endorsed the viewpoint of the Federal Assembly and voiced unanimous agreement with the contents of the declaration of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet to parliaments and peoples of the world for averting nuclear war. Afterwards they started discussing the two main points on the agenda: the government-sponsored bill of the Slovak National Council on the state plan of development of the national economy 1986-90 and the draft bill on the state budget of the Slovak SR for the coming year. The bills were explained by Pavol Bahyl, deputy premier and chairman of the Slovak Planning Commission, and Frantisek Miseje, minister of finance of the Slovak SR. After that the joint report presenters of the Slovak National Council again took the floor.

In the eighth 5-year plan, the creation of national income in Slovakia is to increase by 23-25 percent compared to 1985, which represents growth by one-third more than state-wide growth, while the growth of national income in comparison with the achieved level of the seventh 5-year plan should almost double. This kind of growth, as Comrade Bahyl stressed, requires a further all-round increase in efficiency based on intensification of development. The highest growth in Slovakia is to be achieved by the electrical equipment industry and engineering -- up to 42 percent. The increase in the production of electricity, which, by means of the construction of nuclear power stations in Slovakia, is to reach up to 45 percent of overall production.

Finance Minister Frantisek Miseje said in his address that if the planned aims in the economic sphere are achieved, it will be possible to devote up to two-thirds of expenditure from the state budget and from the budgets of the national committees to the care of citizens in both the investment and noninvestment spheres.

After the break a discussion on the two draft bills will open. So far 12 deputies are to take the floor in the discussion.

CZECH COUNCIL APPROVES 1987 PLAN, BUDGET

LD112332 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 11 Dec 86

[Excerpt] The fourth meeting of the Czech National Council ended in the Palace of Culture in Prague today. Lubos Lidicky reports on today's deliberations by the deputies:

The second day's deliberations were chaired by Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council. Also present were ministers of the Czech government, headed by its premier, Josef Korcak. The morning was dedicated to the debate on the second government bill, the state budget of the Czech SR for next year. [paragraph continues]

In its absolute value, the volume reaches Kcs158.1 billion. For our economy to be balanced next year, that is, to have expenditure and income at the same level, it is necessary to strengthen discipline and organization in all spheres. This was noted in the discussion. It is necessary to follow the example of the Prague Appeal, which is oriented toward using intensification factors of development and valorization of all the latest knowledge of science. This means following new paths in a creative way. [passage omitted]

Concluding their deliberations, the deputies approved both government bills -- the eighth 5-year plan and the State Budget for the Czech SR for the coming year.

POTAC NOTES KCS27.3 BILLION FOR DEFENSE IN 1987

AU231058 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 86 p 3

["On the Eighth 5-Year Plan; Svatopluk Potac, CSSR Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Answers Questions Asked by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Readers"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] J. Konvicka from Krnov is interested in the expenditure for the state's defense and security.

[Potac] Czechoslovakia, like the other socialist states, fully supports the peace initiative and the peace endeavor of the Soviet Union, whose positive results could substantially cut down the expenditure for armament. In the law on the state budget, the Federal Assembly approved Kcs27.3 billion for defense and security. This is 3.1 percent more than 1986, this being a slower rate of growth than that of the planned dynamism of the creation of national income, and the same as of the dynamism of used [uzity] national income. [passage omitted]

LENARI CHAIRS SLOVAK NATIONAL FRONT CC SESSION

LD152242 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Text] The Central Committee of the Slovak National Front met in Bratislava today about the contribution of the bodies and organization of the National Front of Slovakia to the working out and implementation of the resolutions of the 17th congress of the CPSL.

The session was chaired by Comrade Jozef Lenart.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front released Fedor Gulla from the office of deputy chairman at his own request in connection with his retirement. Daniel Futej was elected a new deputy chairman.

The report said that the recent 4th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the session of the Central Committee of the CPSL are important stimuli for the work of the National Front of Slovakia and that in our time, increased attention must be paid to the fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan and the mobilizaton of the working people for a good start next year.

PRESIDIUM, TRADE UNIONS DISCUSS TASKS OF 1987

AU111158 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 86 p 8

[CTK report: "Meeting of the Czech SR's Government Presidium and the Presidium of the Czech Trade Union Council; Trends of Developing Initiative Were Set"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- A joint session of the Presidiums of the Czech SR Government and the Czech Trade Union Council [COR] was held in Prague yesterday [9 December]; it was conducted by Josef Korcak, premier of the Czech SR, and by Vaclav Bezel, COR chairman.

The agenda included setting the specific trends of developing the working people's initiative in order to ensure the tasks of the 1987 plan for the Czech SR. Also discussed were the tasks of the Czech SR agencies which follow from the conclusions adopted by the joint session of the CSSR Government Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Trade Union Council (URO), which was held on 24 November 1986. Furthermore, the session assessed data on the evaluation of the situation in the development of the URO Initiative; the appeal of the Prague plants; and the implementation of the brigade form of labor organization and remuneration. Specific tasks were set for the agencies of state administration in the Czech SR with regard to the above issues.

The document adopted by the session proceeds from the measures adopted by the government and the COR Presidium in October 1986, which defines the basic orientation of the further development of initiative in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The document stresses the need for a most specific and differentiated elaboration of the trends of developing socialist competition, the innovators' and improvers' movement, comprehensive rationalizaton brigades, and the movement of socialist labor brigades. The great significance of adopting collective pledges was also pointed out. One must fight any and all manifestations of formalism in adopting team and individual pledges in the individual enterprises, plants and working places.

The Czech SR Government Presidium and the COR Presidium support the conclusion of the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session that all the political, social, material, and intellectual conditions for achieving the goals set by the 17th CPCZ Congress have been provided.

The main thing now will be to have managers, together with trade union agencies at all management levels mobilize the working people and make full use of our possibilities for the regular fulfilment of the tasks planned for 1987, and for their overfulfillment in the desirable directions.

NUCLEAR PLAN 3D BLOCK IN ACTION 11 DAYS EARLY

LD221157 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] The trial operation of the 3d block of the nuclear power plant in Dukovany has begun 11 days ahead of the target day. The builders of this project, with effective assistance from Soviet specialists, have speeded up by 3 days the fulfilment of their combined socialist pledge. A report presented to Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the chief secretary of the South Moravian Regional Party Committee, in Brno today said that the nuclear power plant in Dukovany had fulfilled the state plan for electricity generation already on 5 December and that it would generate at least 550 gigawatthours above the planned target by the end of the current year.

DAILY COMMENTS ON USSR NUCLEAR TEST MORATORIUM

AU231429 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Dec 86 p 5

[Hartmut Kohlmetz Commentary: "Another Appeal to Reason"]

[Text] For 1 and 1/2 years the Soviet test sites for nuclear test explosions have been lying quiet. Scientists from the USSR and the United States have confirmed this beyond doubt by joint on-site inspections. Regardless of worldwide demands to follow the Soviet Union's example, including the six-state initiative and the nonaligned summit, Washington has carried out 20 officially announced and 4 unannounced nuclear tests in the Nevada desert during these 1 and 1/2 years.

Nobody seriously expects the Soviet Union to exercise endless unilateral restraint in view of the constant American explosions. After all, the experiments in the Nevada desert are not being carried out with harmless pyrotechnic requisites; there is a feverish attempt to achieve military supremacy over the Soviet Union and over socialism in general. It is by far no longer a question of testing new nuclear warheads -- which would, after all, be dangerous enough -- but principally of developing new kinds of weapons within the framework of the SDI Star Wars program. The best-known project is the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, which confronts us with the dangerous prospect that one day hundreds of armed hydrogen bombs will be in orbit above our heads.

A few days before the expiration of the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests -- which was imposed on 6 August 1985, prolonged several times, and finally limited to the period ending 1 January 1987 -- the USSR Government has again appealed to the reason of those ruling in Washington. Although the U.S. reaction to date gives little hope for coming around, the Soviet Government has stated:

First: The USSR continues to be ready for immediate negotiations on a total nuclear test ban, no matter in which body, or in which forum. It is also ready for step-by-step solutions, for instance, for limiting the number and strength of the test explosions if the 1974 [date as published] Three Environment Treaty [Dreimedienvertrag] and the 1976 treaty on peaceful nuclear tests are ratified.

Second: The USSR will also stick to its unilateral moratorium beyond 1 January 1987. However, after the first U.S. nuclear explosion next year, it is forced by its own security interests to resume the test series which was interrupted 1 and 1/2 years ago.

Third: If the United States halts its nuclear tests, the Soviet Union will be ready to halt its test program at any time on the basis of reciprocity.

This is a fair and constructive offer to the leadership of the state which has exploded more nuclear devices since the beginning of the nuclear age than all other four nuclear powers together. It shows the Soviet Union's indomitable will to do everything so that nuclear tests are totally halted, progress is made in nuclear arms limitation, and mankind is finally freed from the scourge of nuclear arms.

The Soviet Union has done what it could in the present situation, the actions were unilateral. Now the other side has to react with more than just words.

BEIL MEETS WITH ITALY'S PRIME MINISTER IN ROME

AU221323 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] Rome (ADN) -- During his meeting with Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR foreign trade minister, conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The Italian prime minister in turn requested that Beil thank Erich Honecker for the message conveyed to him and to reciprocate the greetings with equal cordiality.

During the meeting, which took place in an open-minded and constructive atmosphere, the two interlocutors expressed their conviction that continuing the political dialogue and the comprehensive deepening of cooperation constitute a valuable and necessary contribution to improving the international climate and to securing peace.

They agreed that the meeting between the leading representatives of the USSR and United States in Reykjavik has shown that solid compromises can be found if there is goodwill on both sides. The special role and responsibility of the European states was underscored in this context.

Prime Minister Craxi appreciated the positive development of bilateral relations between the GDR and the Italian Republic which, following the meetings with the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council in 1984 and 1985, have received new incentives.

In doing so, he particularly expressed his great respect for the increase in the foreign trade volume between the GDR and Italy that has been noted in 1986. Prime Minister Craxi voiced the conviction that this successful development will also be continued in 1987 by means of a further deepening of economic relations.

The interlocuters stressed that by further developing these relations, a constructive contribution is made to the deepening of East-West dialogue and to cooperation in Europe. In the talks, the desire of both sides was underscored to jointly support deeper economic relations as an important component of overall relations through appropriate steps, which were the subject of negotiations with representatives of the Italian Government and with economic quarters.

Participating in the talks were Dr. Wolfgang Kiesewetter, GDR ambassador to the Italian Republic, and Carlo Albertario, ambassador of the Republic of Italy to the GDR.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS AT UN SESSION

LD202059 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0240 GMT 20 Dec 86

[Excerpts] United Nations/New York, 20 Dec (ADN) -- The 41st UN General Assembly ended its 3-month session on Friday. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the socialist states, Harry Ott, GDR deputy foreign minister and permanent UN representative, stressed at the concluding session the great significance of a strong and effective United Nations, which must contribute to averting the danger of a nuclear inferno, to ending the arms race on earth, and to preventing it in space. The priority of these questions for the survival of mankind had also been clearly stressed at the meeting in Reykjavik. It was now urgently necessary in the United Nations, too, to strengthen the policy of a results-oriented political dialogue and the creation of a worldwide coalition of reason and realism.

1987 GOODS EXCHANGE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR

LD172314 Budapest MTI in English 1937 GMT 17 Dec 86

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI) -- Foreign Trade Ministers Peter Veress of Hungary and Boris Aristov of the Soviet Union signed the Hungarian-Soviet goods exchange protocol for 1987 in Budapest on Wednesday.

The protocol envisages exchange supply of metalworking and forging-pressing equipment, electronic goods, vehicles, farm machinery, and other products. There will be a major increase in Soviet car deliveries, the exchange supply of consumer articles, and the export of Hungarian farm machinery, equipment and materials. Soviet deliveries are to cover a major part of Hungary's demand for fuel and raw materials, for instance, oil, natural gas, metals, non-ferrous metals and cotton.

It is the first protocol to envisage deliveries and services to promote direct production cooperation between Hungarian and Soviet companies and organizations. The protocol also envisages the supply of goods and services required for the implementation of the complex scientific and technical programme of the CMEA countries until the year 2000. Under the agreement the USSR will supply natural gas in the long term, and Hungarian companies will be involved in the construction of the gas industrial projects in the Soviet Union.

Present at the signing ceremony were Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister, Laszlo Ballai, head of the Economic Policy Department at the HSWP CC, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

CHURCH SHOWS CONCERN FOR MINORITIES IN ROMANIA

AU231713 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23 Dec 86 p 2

["P.M." report: "Hungary's Churches: 'Concern and Fear' for Minorities]

[Excerpts] Vienna/Budapest -- "Our hearts are full of concern and fear": That is how Hungary's churches comment on the fate of the Hungarian minority in Romania. An official statement on the situation in Transylvania says: "We receive unfavorable news and experience incidents that are sad for us personally..."

The critical tones are incorporated into a long-winded analysis, which particularly stresses the positive tendencies in the relationship of Hungary's churches to the believers outside the Hungarian borders. It even points to "brotherly contacts" with the Romanian Orthodox Church and the other religious communities in the neighboring country: "It is our conviction that they share with us the responsibility of bearing the respective burdens and of pacifying the areas [Befriedungsdienst]."

With this a diplomatically balanced formulation has been found, which is acceptable to most religious communities of the Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches. The initiative for this declaration came from 1,343 believers, who had suggested that a joint pastoral letter be read in all churches at Christmas.

The Catholic Bishops Conference has announced its intention to make a similarly "conciliatory" statement. [passage omitted]

JARUZELSKI 1 DEC INTERNATIONAL NEWS CONFERENCE

AU090501 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Dec 86 pp 3-5

["Transcript" of news conference given by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski to foreign journalists in Warsaw on 1 December -- first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] As we have already reported, Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, invited the participants of the Jablonna 6 international journalists' forum -- journalists from 26 countries in the East and West, together with foreign correspondents permanently accredited in Warsaw -- to the office of the Council of Ministers following the conclusion of the forum. Here is a transcript of this meeting:

Marian Podkowinski [chairman of the forum]: Ladies and gentlemen, I hereby open the meeting between PPR State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski and the participants of the Jablonna 6 international journalists conference.

Mr Chairman, the Jablonna 5 meeting ended exactly at the same time 2 years ago. At the end of a news conference like this one today you asked when the next Jablonna conference would take place. I replied that it would take place in 2 years' time. You said that in that case you would meet with us. And we have all kept our word -- we the organizers and the numerous participants.

Our conference lasted 3 days and we had very interesting talks. Now we are all waiting for the chance to meet you, Mr State Council Chairman. I now hand it over to you.

Jaruzelski: I warmly welcome all our guests. I say with satisfaction that I have more and more acquaintances in this hall as a result of the Jablonna 5 meeting and also as a result of numerous other contacts.

This allows me to express a very personal observation. I see ashtrays on the table. The Polish Antinicotine Society has declared 1 December a cigarette-less day. Most of the people in this hall are foreign citizens, so I do not think we will adopt too rigorous an approach toward this matter. Please act the way you feel like acting; the most that will happen is that you will fall foul of the Polish Antinicotine Society.

Journalists meetings have become regular occurrences in Poland. They have become a platform of businesslike dialogue and exchange of views. They remind us that the CSCE is still a lively political-ethical sphere, and not something that merely deserves to be forgotten.

This really seems important to me. Perhaps it would have been banal to say this 10 years ago. Today, however, at a time when the international situation is deteriorating, there are not so many places and communities where authentic dialogue is taking place as did then.

Let me say the following against this background. One of the principles of dialectics says that quantity is turned into quality. Years ago, the distinguished Polish scholar Tadeusz Kotarbinski said that a lack of quantity may also turn into quality. This apparently paradoxical formula is something of great interest not only to philosophers, but also to politicians and, I think, to journalists.

Mankind is experiencing an era of sharp conflicts but also of growing interdependence. Of course, there have always been divisions and conflicts, but mutual interdependence on a world scale is no doubt a product of our times.

Our party program that was adopted at the 10th congress contains the statement that no present system is able to solve important contemporary problems on its own -- capitalism is no longer able to do so, and socialism is not yet able to do so.

The chief differences of the modern world possess an objective nature. However, this does not mean that they must turn into a political or, even worse, a military confrontation.

What is more, differences may and should give rise to progress. They should animate society and pave the way to fruitful thinking. Conflicts between ideas and systems of value are important for the development of knowledge and culture among various societies, and, therefore, for mankind as a whole.

Here the point is not that we all should alter our ideological-political faith; let everyone remain faithful to his beliefs. However, there is one common belief that we should have -- the necessity to preserve peace.

A dozen or so years ago, an American writer said that honest people may differ in their views on all possible subjects except one -- genocide. He had in mind the war in Indochina. I think the essence of this can be applied to today's situation as well.

Today, one can feel a growing need to take a new, sharper look at the question of war and peace.

Please let me make a certain disgression here.

I hear that various Western circles think that Warsaw criticizes some governments and politicians too much.

Let me refer to the first postwar years. In the summer of 1945, immediately after the war, in the half-destroyed National Museum in Warsaw, there was an exhibition entitled "Warsaw Accuses." I have been told that near the entrance, on a floor pockmarked with shells, there lay an old book that had been burned to a cinder, one of the treasures of our culture irrevocably destroyed by the invader. The exhibits and photographs in this exhibition made a really shocking impression. A similar view was expressed by General Eisenhower, then commander in chief of the Allied Forces in Europe and later U.S. President, who visited Warsaw in 1946.

So if Warsaw, is today once again making accusations, this is in reference to the thoughts evoked by that exhibition 41 years ago. And that is the only nature of our warnings against a new war, following which they would neither be a Warsaw nor any capital city whatsoever, and certainly not in Europe.

I see no exaggeration in the oft-repeated statement that mankind has reached the crossroads of its history. Modern military technology has reached the heights of perfection, but, on the other hand -- and let us say this clearly -- it has reached the depths of absurdity, manifested in an ability to destroy thousands of lives in one go.

To this is added the dangerous dependence of powerful weapons on a huge quantity of various mechanisms out of man's control. As a result -- the Challenger disaster, that of Delta and Arianne [as published] numerous false early-warning alarms, and so on and so forth.

The situation is therefore serious, very serious.

People must, above, realize what a modern war would look like, especially in Europe. Everything we know for certain about the effects of mass-destruction weapons not only exceeds the scenario of the American film "The Day After" or the Soviet "Letters From a Dead Man," but also the entire knowledge and imagination of the average inhabitant of the earth.

In a certain sense, one can even say that an apocalypse in installments has already commenced. World armaments costs have exceeded thousands of billions of dollars a year, and this would be a modest sum if one transferred military rivalry to space.

Or let us look at the constant underground nuclear detonations. This is not at all the environmentally harmless business that it seems. Experts believe that any such detonation may cause a chain of earthquakes, even in distant regions. Geological layers up to hundreds of meters deep are subjected to contamination. This may be transported by underground springs and poison the groundwater of huge areas. And, if in addition to all this, one makes the wrong physical calculations -- and this has already happened during a French nuclear test -- then a nuclear explosion may throw a considerable quantity of radioactive dust into the atmosphere. That is already the extent of the danger today. What can one say about tomorrow, in the face of the prospect of enormous space construction that, no doubt, will have to be equiped with nuclear power plants?

Marx produced the following memorable saying: "An idea which penetrates the masses becomes a strong material force." I think the non-Marxists in this hall today will agree that if an awareness of the need to preserve peace penetrates the masses deeply, it will become a force of considerable material power.

There is great scope of activity for journalists here.

For no other professional group could perform the role of spokesmen for peace and "reconnaissance men for detente" so effectively, as the Finnish journalist Mr Jarmo Makela said on Polish television yesterday. Working at the point of contact between politics and public opinion and possessing numerous personal contacts in various countries, you may indeed pave the way toward and inspire the difficult art of talks between heads of state, politicians, and diplomats.

Here one may see a ray of hope for the continuation of peace and for victory by realism.

We discussed the outcome of Reyjkavik at the recent Moscow summit.

The stance presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland is far-sighted, bold, and honest. It gives mankind a historic chance. I also regard it as a symbolic reference to the Leninist peace decree, the 70th anniversary of which happens to be approaching. Poland supports this stance. It completely agrees with our national interests, historical experience, and our vision of -- how can one put it? -- a more humane world.

I will have the opportunity to give more detailed replies to questions from you, ladies, gentlemen, and comrades. [paragraph continues]

So, for the time being, I will restrict myself to saying that the Poland you are presently visiting is a different country from the one that caused such interest and passion on the threshold of 1981 and 1982. It is also different from what it was at the time of the Jablonna 5 conference.

Of course, every politician, including myself, is in danger of excessive attachment to solutions in which he himself participates. I realize this fully, especially because we in Poland possess a well-developed public opinion research system and have a fair impression of our society's moods, views, concerns, and hopes.

That is why I do not intend to boast that all our greatest troubles are already behind us. However, right now they do possess a different quality.

We have achieved a considerable degree of social stabilization. We have developed, often in an original way, institutions of socialist democracy already in existence and created entirely new ones.

However, at the end of this meeting, I would like to ask you one thing: to agree with me that just as an understanding of the present state of East-West relations requires independent thinking and a particular feeling of responsibility, so too does a rational and, therefore, a real picture of Poland not fit into any stereotyped image.

We Poles cannot be understood without an understanding of our history. We quarrel on practically everything, but, as far as supreme issues are concerned, we are capable of accord. The past 5 years are the best proof of this. I could quote all kinds of disastrous forecasts which have not come true, and all kinds of assurances that only cause their authors embarrassment today.

All this has come to pass because socialism, despite various errors and weaknesses and despite various simplified views, has taken firm root in our society. This is what we have in mind when we talk of the irreversibility of the changes made over the past 5 years.

Right now I would like to proceed to what we may call the second part of our talk, our meeting.

I have received many, very many questions from you, as many as 500. They cover a broad range of topics. They vary from very general problems right up to very detailed issues.

Of course, I will not be able to give an exhaustive reply to every question. Even so, we are faced with a certain "marathon," but it is you who have cooked up this fate for yourselves by addressing so many questions to me. But, seriously now, some of the questions are repetitive. This allows a certain generalization and a common reply.

I will start with international topics.

As many as 10 questions deal with security and the consolidation of peace on our continent. A few refer to the phrase about the need to "Europeanize Europe," which I used in my recent speech in Zielona Gora.

Mr Peter Bender, representing the WRD radio station in West Berlin, asks straight out what I mean by this phrase. On the other hand, Comrade Aleksey Grigoriyev from TASS asks whether I actually notice any tendencies toward the Europeanizaion of Europe and also what the PPR's contribution to this process might be.

Let me explain that by this expression I mean, above all, that the time has come to take a considerably broader and more comprehensive look at general European topics, and not merely in the context of this or that issue. When I speak about Europe, I mean, of course, all the signatories of the CSCE Final Act.

We have already had a number of Europes since the war -- Hallstein's Europe and De Gaulle's Europe, a Europe of the 6 and Europe of the 12, a "better" Europe and a "worse" Europe. There are three economic organizations and two military alliances. That is a lot for such a small continent. Recently, it began to appear as if part of the Old World might indeed become a provincial backwater, for we are hearing more and more about the "civilization of the Pacific."

Europe has been a most sensitive political seismograph of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and of East-West relations in general, and will remain one for a long time yet. It fares worse in this tension, anyway.

Therefore, for all Europeans, regardless of the political system of any country, it is of the greatest objective value to stabilize this most sensitive part of the globe. Its sensitivity could be seen during the heightening of the Polish crisis. The hopes for political capital out of our crisis have gradually, though not everywhere, given way to fear for the loss of peace, threatened by the possibility of further destabilization in Poland.

With today's means of transportation and communication, the geographical proximity of European countries is not so decisive an argument as it was in the past. However, there still exists a certain social and cultural quality which, in our view, should not share the fate of the mythical Atlantis.

As far as the nations of central and eastern Europe are concerned, they really do not have any historical reason to feel that they are intruders here. It is with amusement, unfortunately, that we view the missionary-like zeal of some politicians who would like to civilize, enlighten, and convert the "jungle" beyond the Elbe River and teach the people there to use not so much a computer as a knife and fork.

It is difficult not to notice that the subject of Europe's revival and renaissance has encountered growing interest recently. It has been raised both by Mikhail Gorbachev and by Pope John Paul II; it has been discussed by communists and representatives of center parties, social-democrats, and the most cautious conservatives. Evidently it is assuming great topicality.

Of course, there are voices who only take European unity to mean a Europe-wide unification of anticommunists or, more often, the freedom for everyone to imagine himself a Colonel North to act with impunity. But I am not talking about these people here.

Unfortunately, the processes of mutual isolation and distancing in both parts of the continent have become a permanent feature.

The Eastern part of Europe is making a great effort at broadly-conceived reconstruction and acceleration. I would caution you not to underestimate this phenonenon or its scale, especially the Soviet Union's and the socialist countries' chances of economic and technological development. [paragraph continues]

Such calculations have already turned out to be painfully unrealistic several times in the past. Let me quote the first sputnik as an example.

On the other hand, as a result of this very process of isolation, the Western part of Europe is facing its greatest "challenge" since the war. Thinking that voluntary participation in SDI may make Western Europe more important is mistaken. However, here, I am impinging on a complicated and controversial topic, one deserving more exhaustive discussion for which I fear we will not have enough time today.

Most of all, our Polish understanding of European politics is clear. Thinking about the Roman and Greek sources of our civilization, of which Marxism is an integral part, will not take the place of concrete political, military, and economic activity designed to build a basis of mutual confidence instead of mistrust, coexistence instead of confrontation, and cooperation instead of competition, which may be mutually harmful in the long run.

To close this topic, I myself would like to ask a question -- is it not too late to try and "Europeanize Europe", and is it at all worth protecting something that is a closed historical chapter for many countries and which is often only remembered with bitterness?

It seems to us, in Poland, that it is worth protecting some things and that seeking a common denominator of European identity does not signify tilting at windmills. However, we do not know the answer to the question of whether it is too late. Only the next few years may supply it.

An entire series of questions concerns regional disarmament initiatives in Europe.

Mr Peter Bender asks: To what extent is the Rapacki Plan still valid? Would Poland be ready to join a chemical weapons-free zone as proposed by the SPD and SED? Mr Dettmer Cramer from the West Berlin RIAS, referring to the SED and SPD idea of a nuclear-free zone and these parties' initiatives concerning a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe, asks whether it would be desirable for both Poland and the CPCZ to join these initiatives. In turn, Comrade Franz Knipping from NEUES DEUTSCHLAND asks what today's projects that are similar to the Rapacki Plan are worth, and what is Poland's position vis-a-vis their eventual realization.

I spoke at length about the Rapacki Plan at the previous conference 2 years ago. We Poles are pleased with the topicality of this initiative that was formed in Warsaw. But it saddens us that so many years had to elapse before its values and unprecedented nature were universally recognized. Let me reiterate: The history of the Rapacki Plan and Gomulka Plan is more than anything else a history of a lost opportunity.

Poland never abandoned the Rapacki Plan. The recent lively discussion about planned nuclear weapons and armaments-free zones and corridors in Western Europe confirm the correctness and far-sightedness of that plan and show that the Plan was a way of consolidating peace and security on a regional scale.

At the same time, I wish to express full support for the SED and SPD project concerning a nuclear weapons-free zone in central Europe, the CPCZ also being involved in its formulation. We also express our interest in the plans for nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia and the Balkans. However, for understandable geographic, military, and political reasons, we are particularly interested in the reduction of conventional arms and armaments in Europe.

As far as ridding Europe of chemical weapons is concerned, you know that there have been talks on this subject for a long time. However, I regard any new initiatives in this sphere as very useful. We will back them.

Three questions concern Soviet-American relations. Mr Jan Otto Hauge from Norway asks whether I believe that Reykjavik was a step toward disarmament, or whether I believe that it was just another meeting which will not bring any process concerning our common safety. Comrade Kolinishchenko, representing PRAVDA, asks: What tasks does Europe face concerning the renewed possibility of radical nuclear disarmament since Reykjavik? Could it come true? However, Mr Stephen Thomas from the FRG phrases the issue somewhat differently, asking what role do I think European countries should play in building mutual confidence at a time of nuclear threat and at the present stage of Soviet-American dialogue.

Strategic militry parity between the United States and USSR has reached a stage of full maturity. One may say that it has become clear. It is this that has enabled Mikhail Gorbachev to present, in Reykjavik, the unprecedented proposal of a total accord based on maximum bilateral concessions concerning main issues, without the search for arithmetical formulas and without any asymmetrical "sublevels," "additional equilibrium," or any other secondary issues like this.

With this kind of approach, accord was possible in every issue. But it is SDI which blocked it. And regardless of the present tactics of the American Administration, which is trying to erase the real purpose of Reykjavik, everything that happened in the Icelandic capital confirms the reality of breaking the deadlock in disarmament talks and confirms the correctness and purpose of the search for radical solutions on a broad scale. And in this sense, Reykjavik was no doubt a greatly positive and important event.

But why was no accord reached?

Much can be explained by the nature of American domestic policy, the stanglehold of the military-industrial complex, and the complexity of the American decisionmaking processes. I think I know the way the Soviet leadership thinks and know that it takes these considerations into account and that it wishes to facilitate and not obstruct realistic trends, for such trends do exist among the Americans, who are pragmatic by nature. I will say more -- none of the eight postwar American Presidents has been so close to permanent and mutually advantageous accord on a really historic scale, an accord that was literally a hair's breadth away. Compared to this accord, the talks between specialists that have been dragging on for years look like playing with toy bricks.

Nothing, literally nothing, can explain or justify the vacillation, evasion, and excuses concerning such an important and fundamental issue for mankind as a halt to the arms race.

I have read somewhere that there is or was a quite macabre game played by American teenagers called "chicken game" [last two words in English]. Two automobiles were driven toward each other at great speed. The first player to swerve and avoid a head-on collision received the rather contemptuous name "chicken." The logic of the present situation is similar -- two trains travel toward each other and a head-on crash is imminent. But here the difference is that one engineer applies the brakes and the other continues to accelerate. How long can this continue?

And what are Europe's tasks in this context?

It is obvious that strategic Soviet-American dialogue is not taking place to the exclusion of Europe. Many of us come from countries where there are missiles aimed at the "other side." The climate of U.S.-USSR dialogue affects its results, and this climate is to a major extent created by all the protagonists on the European stage. The climate may be improved by means of concrete action, but it may also be interfered with. One may regard it as a great and perhaps last chance for Europe -- but one may also accelerate a "move" of London or Hamburg to California's Silicon Valley.

As far as Poland is concerned, we do not intend to "move" to the Pacific.

Another question concerning military detente in Europe was asked by Comrade Vikentiy Matveyev from IZVESTIYA: "Following the success of Stockholm 1, how do you view the prospects for Stockholm 2 and the possibility of real action aimed at European disarmament, especially concerning conventional weapons?"

The Stockholm conference did indeed end in success. Its primary objective -- concrete steps aimed at building confidence between CSCE states from the Atlantic to the Urals -- has been achieved.

The Stockholm document is the first military accord between East and West since 1979.

Here, I wish to tell you that the appropriate bodies in our country, including the National Defense Ministry, have commenced preparations for the performance of tasks set by this accord. Poland will fully discharge all of its Stockholm commitments.

As far as the second stage of Stockholm talks is concerned, I believe the present situation encourages it. The June session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Commission has provided a good point of departure for it. The session presented a far-reaching conventional weapons and armed forces reduction on our continent. This creates a new chance for radical progress in this sphere. Our proposals are flexible. One topic for discussion, for example, is whether to convene a new Europe-wide disarmament forum, or use existing platforms. Protocol is not important; it does not matter who is first or who is more important. Only one thing matters -- to break this vicious circle and proceed.

Comrade Sergey Golyakov from NOVOYE VREMYA asks what I think of the U.S. violation of the SALT II treaty.

The correct answer is 2,000 years old, because the Romans already noticed that treaties are concluded so that they may be observed.

To be serious, we received this decision with indignation and concern. Myopia is a dangerous adviser in politics. The greater the responsibility, the more dangerous it is.

I wish to point out the following three circumstances.

First, the restriction and control of armaments must possess internal logic. It may not be disrupted with impunity, just as one cannot exclude buses from driving on the right of the road and let them drive on the left.

Second, when one considers the point in time in which this irresponsible decision was made, one may gain the impression that the manufacturers of bombers have panicked and are afraid of a fall in demand for their products.

If such a decision is made soon after Reykjavik, it is not just to deliberately aggravate one's partner. There are two ways of playing chess. The first method involves moving the pieces. The second involves upsetting the board if complications arise.

Third and last, what is striking about this decision is the provincial attitude toward the USSR. It is a pity that no trouble has been taken to learn the history of this country. Moscow has never been frightened of something before. I have reason to suppose that this time too there is no point in expecting it to be frightened. We certainly have enough desire and strength to prevent the balance from being upset.

The second part of Comrade Golyakov's question concerns our Vienna stance whereby every CSCE state should ratify the human rights pacts and other international instruments concerning this topic.

Human rights has indeed become one or the loudest features of CSCE, although we do not think that the reality in Europe indicates such a need. I could easily mention other parts of the world where our Western partners are making, to put it delicately, somewhat reticent and cumbersome moves (I will mention at least the attitudes toward Chile, the Republic of South Africa, and other "oases" of democracy and freedom like these).

I do not mean to say that there is no need to talk of human rights. A measure of the socialist countries' intention in this regard is the recent Soviet proposal to organize a meeting of CSCE experts on the subject of humanitarian problems.

We believe that as human rights have adopted such an important position, everything should be done in order to avoid excessive demagogy and cheap, dull propaganda around this topic.

There is a sense in having talks only when they are businesslike. In order for them to be businesslike, we should define the limits of the area in which we operate. These limits are defined in a series of international agreements on various topics, but they possess one common characteristic; they clearly formulate the principle of independently solving one's domestic problems.

Apart from this, it is probably not unjustified for us to ask what legal or even moral right do some Western states have to behave so brashly as teachers when it comes to human rights? The reality of life undermines the truth of some of their declarations. It is not in Poland that there are tens of millions of people deprived of the right to work; it is not in socialist countries that there is a Berufsverbot [last word, meaning occupational prohibition, in German], and it is not east of the Elbe River that the kind of witch-hunts present inside the American trade unions are organized.

I wonder what you would write if we had as many dead as there have so far been claimed by the Northern Ireland conflict or if we asked our trade union functionaries to take oaths on ideological loyalty. But let us ignore these subjects, because it would be too easy to polemize about them.

We want to discuss these subjects seriously and to reach accord as well. But it is really difficult to talk about them, as in the case of the United States, which seems to know everything better than we do, but which has still not ratified a single convention out of the 19 international conventions on human rights, including the most important one of them.

Now for the question that should have been asked a little earlier because it bears directly on the conclusions stemming from your meeting. Comrade Bernd Aischmann from GDR Radio asked this question: "The Jablonna meeting has once again demonstrated that journalists can play an important role in the struggle for peace and international cooperation. What can and should journalists do to protect the world against the danger of the nuclear mushroom, an expression you used at the trade union congress?

I did tell you in my preliminary remarks how I view the responsibilities of journalists, but I think I should expatiate.

Allow me to refer to a personal experience, which is still a source of astonishment to me. Last year, I was in New York for the first time in my life. On that very occasion, an American daily reported that most students of one of the universities -- I think North Carolina University -- did not know where the USSR is situated. Of course, I do not wish to assert that geography should be the most important subject in all countries, but I do think that this little incident, which has impressed me so much, hints at a real problem of this world. This problem amounts not only to an "information eclipse" as our Krzysztof Toeplitz wrote in his most recent book. It amounts to a typical castration of knowledge about the world as it is and to a catastrophic absence of elementary information. Not inconsiderable sections of some Western societies are often without elementary knowledge about the socialist countries and are constantly surprised when they at last discover that we have a parliamentary system, courts of appeal, workers self-management bodies, active churches, and even night clubs. Yes, some people are really surprised that we have night clubs, but I do not want to claim that our clubs are the best ones.

Recently we have been able to observe a curious paradox: The more "open" the socialist countries become and the more frankly we speak about our own domestic problems and about our plans in the international arena of relations, the more watertight the "curtain of silence" becomes in certain countries and the more often hackneyed platitudes are substituted for political thinking.

This phenomenon assumes different forms in different countries, and there is no doubt that our views about the causes of this phenomenon are also different. But there is no way of denying that this phenomenon is there.

In the old days children were made to fear witches in order to behave. Today communism, the Kremlin, "the threat from the East," and so on are used to frighten adults. I do not know whether you share my view, but I think that the intensification of this primitive indoctrination through fear is often directly proportional to the state of unemployment, social conflicts, and so on.

In this situation the role of journalists -- actually of the mass media, the policy of which is always determined by professional journalists -- increases out of all proportion. We suffer from no special complexes and, if I may say so, we have gotten used to biased information and unfriendly commentaries. That is why I ask you not to interpret my words as a desire to improve our image in the eyes of the Western public. I said at one time that running the government is no beauty contest, and this is even more true of the real rivalry in a world of class, ideological, and economic conflicts.

However, I have in mind an area which all European nations want to be expanded. The point is that all the elements that can promote and facilitate mutual understanding should be rescued from the "information noise" and from the flood of more or less crucial details. Every day, I read summaries of the reports and commentaries carried by the chief mass media in the West and I am unable to claim that they inspire me with optimism. I also read the Soviet press and continue to note profound changes in it, which makes me think that various hackneyed schemes, which have existed for too long a time, have been reversed.

Let me now discuss a large batch of questions on Poland's bilateral relations with various countries. As many as three questions concern Polish-American relations, which is no doubt quite natural in this company. I will cite them in full.

Mrs Christina Runge, HORIZONI, GDR: Last November, for the first time since 1981, Polish-American talks were held at government level. What expectations did you have with regard to lifting U.S. economic restrictions and improving political relations?

Mr Peter Kendall, CBS News, the United States: How would you describe Polish-American relations and how can they be improved?

Comrade Valentin Zorin, Soviet Television: Washington continues to apply economic restrictions against Poland. Are any changes possible in this area and in which direction?

I will reply succinctly since I do not think that I have anything particularly new to say at the moment that could be used for a report on the front pages of newspapers or in television newscasts. The first specific talks with representatives of the U.S. Administration have begun, which is the only information I can give you. It is natural that it is bad for diplomatic negotiations to be given too much publicity too soon.

The basic obstacles that continue to hamper the normalization of Polish-American relations are common knowledge, and nothing has changed in this regard. I have in mind primarily the continuation of the unlawful economic restrictions against Poland and what we call propaganda aggression, which continues with unabated force. The Vienna talks were just a preliminary exchange of views, which was not at all easy. Since I have used here the term dialogue so many times, I would not like to repeat myself and say that the Vienna meeting was "the beginning of dialogue."

However, I want to say that goodwill and the desire for improvement in Polish-American relations are invariably with us.

One word for clarity: We do not expect any special privileges, although, to tell the truth, the losses we have suffered through restrictions are good reason for us to have such hopes. What we want is merely that our relations be based on the normal principles that are generally accepted by the international community. It is natural that before this can be achieved it is necessary to abandon the policy of restrictions and to create nondiscriminatory conditions for developing economic, trade, and fiscal relations. I think that mutually beneficial cooperation will be possible and that it is also in the interest of the United States. However, I do not wish to speak for the advisers to the White House. Nor do I know who they are.

The next question was asked by Mr Lothar Loewe from the WRD, West Berlin: Please describe Polish-FRG relations. What are the most urgent bilateral problems that should be solved?

I would like my reply to be a little longer because, first, to us Poles "nothing is alien that concerns Germany," and it is no exaggeration to say that we have 38 million diplomats in this matter; second, Poland is not and, cannot be, indifferent to various features of FRG policy; and, third, since your meeting is dedicated to prospects of accord and cooperation in Europe, Polish-FRG relations are necessarily one of the most important factors in this matter.

It is usually possible to describe relations between two countries with the help of a single adjective, but this is probably not possible in the case of the FRG. Our relations with the FRG are neither wholly "bad" nor wholly "good."

This is because a curious paradox has become apparent in these relations in the past few years. The FRG is precisely that Western country with which we maintain the most lively tourist and cultural traffic, a continuous political dialogue at various levels, and, of course, economic relations.

Let me state at once that we wish and seek to strengthen and expand our cooperation with the FRG on the principle of mutual benefits.

There is no dearth of good will in Poland, but we must see the facts and must note that some FRG politicians are in a hurry to build a facade without caring for the foundations. What is particularly striking in this regard is, if I may say so, a lack of the adequate backbone in the area of the economy. We have obtained a great number of promises, but as soon as the crunch comes, skyscraping obstacles arise before us. How can we map out the main lines of cooperation when the economic views of the FRG's leading circles and the facts resulting from these views continue to change almost as soon as the weather changes, and we know that the weather in our regions is capricious and fickle?

Nor can I pass over in silence and appease through smooth words certain antics -- this is the word to use -- that the competent FRG representatives have again performed recently. The other day, at the session of one of the working groups of the Vienna CSCE conference, we heard the expression "Polish territorial administration" -- this is how Poland's western regions were called! -- as if the 1970 treaty and the Potsdam Treaty were no longer in existence and as if the CSCE Final Act had never been signed. One gets the impression that the German "realpolitik" has left its homeland or that, at least, it has ceased to be a strong point of Bonn policy.

It is significant that various distinguished lovers of humanitarianism and human rights never happen to recall that several millions of Polish workers were used in Germany as slave labor during the war and that Poles were inmates of the concentration camps and Gestapo cellars. These people are still among us and although their numbers continue to diminish, several hundred thousands of them are alive. They have lost their health, training opportunities, and, often, their entire property, and yet they have never been granted even a symbolic DM in compensation.

I think that in view of this approach to human rights some, I repeat, some FRG representatives should be the last people in Europe to hold forth about unanswered the psuedolegal assertions that the "Reich exists in its 1937 borders" and that the "German minority in Poland" totals over 1 million persons. Some of these assertions are a spitting image of the old very bad times. At one time, solemn pledges invoking all German and European saints were made to the effect that Germany and European saints were made to the effect that Germany has no aggressive plans at all -- not even the most insignificant ones -- and that its only preoccupation is the fate of the unfortunate persecuted German minorities in various countries, primarily in Poland.

What is the purpose of all this? Last October one of the leading FRG politicians said at the CDU Congress in Munich that the organizations of the resettlers deserve the Nobel Peace Prize. As far as this prize is concerned, we in Poland can no longer be surprised by anything. However, we wonder to what lengths it is possible to go 41 years after the war that did not end in German success, so to speak.

I realize that my words are harsh, but then not only compliments continue to be addressed to Poland in the FRG. I appeal especially to those of you who have come here from the FRG: Please be just. Do not write that Jaruzelski has again attacked the FRG because it is not we who want the territory of your country, it is not we who question the results of the last war, and it is not we who again start another round of accusations.

To put it mildly, we have had rather restricted relations with the FRG for some decades. Poland is a member of the socialist community, which conducts a concerted, united, and consistent policy in the matter of basic importance for peace in Europe. He who fails to understand this fact deceives himself and his countrymen.

I have said and repeat most strongly that Polish-FRG relations can and should be better. We are ready, finally, to close that calamitous chapter of our millennium-long relations. We are ready to so also with the FRG because we did this with the GDR a long time ago. We see real opportunities for very greatly expanding our bilateral cooperation in almost all spheres. We appreciate similar views of the realistic circles of the FRG, including some politicians.

This means that in the long run we see no crucial reasons why our countries, which belong to opposing political and military groupings, should not be able to make joint efforts in favor of a return of detente.

Do we pose any conditions? Certainly, the condition of realism. We think that even the preelection fever in the FRG should not push to the sidelines the issues that are far more important historically than the results of these of other elections. As for us, we have made our choice once and for all. This issue is related to Comrade Runege's second question: This year over 300,000 persons were involved in Polish and GDR exchanges of young people. What significance do you attach to this action?

My answer is brief: I attach very great significance. Direct and massive contacts between young people of our countries are a valuable internationalist capital and represent one of those initiatives that are of special importance for the development of friendly relations between the peoples in socialist countries.

Let me answer other questions. Mr Bernard Ullmann from L'EXPRESS, France, asks me whether I intend to visit soon some West European countries. Several Italian journalists asked more specifically about this: "What are the obstacles to your Italian visit? When will you travel to Italy if these obstacles are overcome?"

Let me relate the following anecdote. Camillo Cavour, the Italian statesman of the 19th century, confessed one day that he had a foolproof recipe for putting off diplomats by telling them the truth, which they would never believe.

It goes without saying that it is much more difficult to put off journalists, especially such excellent ones as those in this hall.

Plans for diplomatic visits and trips are never subjects of public discussions. That is why I am unable to give you a specific answer with regard to my visits planned for 1987.

I see no obstacles to my visit to Italy. Its date will be announced in line with the generally adopted practice.

The Italian journalists have also asked me about the state of Polish-Italian relations and said this: Polish-Italian economic relations have lately been given an especially important fillip. What is Fiat's official decision on investing in Poland and what is the Polish position on this?

I could certainly talk about the state of Polish-Italian relations, but we have a Polish proverb that says that you should look before you leap. That is why I would prefer to talk about these relations after I have returned from Rome. All I can tell you today is that these relations continue to develop gradually. In particular, we see opportunities to make good the very big drop of 40 percent in our trade.

As for the views of our authorities about an accord between Fiat and the Polish car industry, I wish primarily to stress that decisions of such far-reaching import should not be made on the basis of political sympathies or tastes. Technological and, especially, economic reasons should decide.

Our specialists are still continuing to study the issue, and their proposals will be examined by our state leadership. Then the entire matter will be submitted to the Sejm under the necessary procedures. We have learned a great deal from that unfortunate contract that was signed under the shadow of voluntarism with the Berliet French firm in the seventies.

The Dutch journalists ask the following question: Is there an accord between your government and the Vatican on the pope's visit in Poland next June? If yes, which places will the pope visit?

Last Friday, the joint Government-Episcopate Commission was in session and the episcopal side presented a proposal on the third visit to Poland by John Paul II.

Since the subject was discussed only slightly, it is difficult for me to tell you anything more about it.

However, we should bear in mind one very important thing, namely, that we should, at once, begin creating the necessary conditions for the visit, especially the proper climate for state-church relations, which includes to a decisive extent the clergy's attitude toward the state. A good climate is extremely important for a successful visit, one that will benefit the faithful and Poland. What is more, I see this visit as one more valuable opportunity to reaffirm the strong and laudable commitment of John Paul II to the defense of peace.

Let me now answer several questions on the results of what has happened in Poland in the past few years. Jan Bernard Ullmann asks: Martial law was proclaimed 5 years ago. Could you tell us what are the most important positive changes that have occurred in the past 5 years? What main problems are still there? Are they the economic crisis and debts? The skepticism of large segments of the community? The opposition of the disappointed and embittered members of Solidarity?

Mr Theophilos Frangopopoulos from Greece, who represents ATHENOS, asks: How have you overcome the crisis that had Poland in its grip as recently as 2-3 years ago and that, as I see it, has now been almost overcome.

As for Mr Hans Gerlach from KOELNER-STADT-ANZEIGER, the FRG, he asks the following question: How do you evaluate the country's present socioeconomic situation, especially the course of the recent 10th party congress?

Let me begin with the last question. It was precisely at its 10th congress that the party comprehensively evaluated the results of the past 5 years, but the congress was primarily oriented toward the future and adopted the first long-term party program, which outlined the vision of Polish socialist construction up to the 21st century.

I was able to discuss the congress extensively in this hall in the presence of many journalists on the day after its conclusion. I think that a few months later, the evaluations I presented then have not lost their meaning, and that is why I will limit myself to indicating that which seems most important to me.

The first thing to say is that the 10th congress confirmed the correctness of the line of socialist renewal of the ninth party congress and mapped out new lines of this renewal. Second, the 10th congress provided new incentives for the economic, social, and political processes in our country.

At present, the process of translating congress decisions into practice and specific implementation schedules is continuing amid discussions that are lively and constructive, albeit not void of controversies.

I refer to the now ending countrywide accountability-election campaign within the party. The congress of the Reborn Trade Unions, which has just ended, has also made its crucial contribution. Lively work is continuing in Sejm committees, people's councils, and self-government groups. The coming third plenum of the Central Committee will no doubt play an important role in our work.

It is difficult to briefly summarize what has happened in Poland in the past few years. Our country's reality is very complicated and consists of many layers and shades. I will return to details later on when answering other questions, but now I would like to deal with the following:

The issue is terminological. I concede that we have some feelings of guilt for having introduced the term "normalization" into our language. We often talk about having achieved sociopolitical normalization in our country -- that the situation has been normalized. This can be mistakenly taken for a return to what was at one time, a return to the past. However, our basic thesis, which we have often stressed, is: "There is no return to the situation before August 1980 and before December 1981." Our aim is to make persevering efforts to achieve progress and to create a new and higher sociopolitical and economic quality.

I think that every objective and honest observer will agree that much has changed in Poland for the better. Let us take a look at the economy. Despite our profound economic breakdown, the natural increase of almost 2 million, reduced working time, the burdens imposed on us through economic restrictions, and the need to repay the interest on our debts, our country's economy has experienced many advantageous changes, and although we have still not been able to make good all the losses, our present achievements deserve just praise.

I could go on listing these achievements for a long time -- not from self-satisfaction, but primarily because I would thus be able to pay respect to the workers class and the working people of socialist Poland who have achieved so much under extremely difficult conditions, bearing the heavy burdens of daily life. I also spoke about this at the trade union congress.

Of course, there is a multitude of very complicated problems, about which I will talk when answering questions about our economy and sociopolitical life.

Some questions are about the process of national accord or about the broadly conceived sociopolitical problems of Poland. Mr Hans Gerlach asks about prospects for expanding the party-government dialogue with the people, especially with the former members of Solidarity. Mr. Ullmann asks about the measures I intend to take in order to rebuild trust, following the amnesty for all political prisoners. Comrade Karl von Schnitzer, GDR television, asks about the people's response to the 10th congress proposal to set up the Consultative Council at the State Council and about the chances of this proposal being realized. Mr Guy Poppe from Belgian Radio asks the same question.

I must say that I would have been a little disappointed if no questions were asked about dialogue, accord, and regained social trust. We have gotten used to these questions in the past years, and I have often raised them in my interviews and at all press conferences. This was no accident.

National accord and constant improvements in the social climate are the distinctive features of the changes that have taken place in our country in the past few years.

We have forged far ahead in developing socialist democracy, and I could list and list improved or newly devised solutions and mechanisms, which are often most up to date.

However, such institutional solutions count only if they are backed by the daily dynamic and pulsating militancy of the working people and all the people. This is precisely what we now regard as the most important condition for further progress in developing socialist democracy and national accord.

To illustrate this commitment, let me mention just one example, one that is most topical -- the trade unions -- because we have met here the day after the trade union congress ended.

Every objective observer must concede that the class trade union movement is today the most numerous and fully genuine representation of the working people in our country.

I participated with great interest in the work of this congress. We have to admit that trade unions are not an easy partner for the government and administration. This time, too, they were very outspoken about various problems, some of which caused open contests about the correctness of arguments. However, the atmosphere of the congress was pervaded by a sense of responsibility and solicitude for the development of the issues that are most important for the nation.

The congress, which represented almost 7 million trade unionists, was attended by a large number of foreign delegations, and I have been able to meet their representatives and to talk with them about the situation of trade unions in other countries, including capitalist ones, and about other subjects.

Life is not always easy for trade unionists. In some countries trade unions are unable to operate and in some the number of trade unionists is low. For example, in France only 20 percent of workers are trade unionists, in the United States 25 percent, in the FRG 32 percent, and fewer than 50 percent in Great Britain and Italy.

That is why we are still the more surprised that the governments and mass media in many Western countries devote so much attention and concern to the position and activities of Polish trade unionists. May the peoples in these countries experience in their trade union activities no other problems than just those that the Polish trade unionists experience.

As I have said, two questioners raised the issue of a consultative body at the State Council, actually a body attached to the State Council chairman.

We attach great importance to such a body, which is a bold and unprecedented experiment. The first meeting of the people invited to participate in the Social Consultative Council -- about 70 percent of them are nonparty people -- will be held within a few days. That is why I cannot anticipate anything because I do not know how this meeting will develop and what its result will be.

On the other hand, the meeting will be a significant indication whether our genuine intention to extend the platform of genuine dialogue by including new, independent social groups and communities will meet with the necessary response. It is our great wish that this be so. The authority and civic responsibility of the persons invited to join the council in question shore up such hopes.

However, I must stress that neither Poland's fate nor the very process of accord are exclusively and directly dependent on the results of that meeting. Various forms of socialist democracy do exist and will be expanded, and we have created and continue to create various platforms of dialogue. We do not want to diminish their importance by regarding the coming meeting of the council as the decisive platform of dialogue.

In this connection I wish to add that the conservative streams of Polish political thinking have not been especially gifted in foreseeing the future. The circles presenting this thinking have often missed the bus of history, and this was also the case in the most recent past. Since the influence of these circles is still alive, we are inclined to treat this important experiment with all seriousness and friendly expectations, but, at the same time, with caution.

Mr Per Nyholm of the Danish JUTLAND-POSTEN believes that in connection with the present economic reform the PZPR seems to be encountering serious problems in providing effective motivation for workers and in eliminating red tape in order to achieve a higher economic level. He has asked whether I would agree with the view that the party and the government continue to be blocked in their activities by the people creating these problems and by the medium-level managing cadres. Comrade Kolchanov of the Moscow TRUD asks the following question: The implementation of the Polish economic reform is about to enter a new stage. What are the most characteristic economic and social aims and elements of this new stage? What role should trade unions play in this connection? Referring to this, Mr Bernt Conrad from DIE WELT, the FRG, comments that, for example, Polish trade unions continue to level much criticism and asks how it is possible in this situation to achieve harmony in domestic relations.

These numerous questions cover a very wide area, and this is why it will be difficult to answer them in full.

There is only one way of solving our economic difficulties: Achieving a radically higher efficiency and effectiveness of economic management, by changing gradually but radically the structure of production, and by promoting technological progress, including modern technologies that are thrifty in using energy and materials, with greater speed and effectiveness.

Of course, this is easier said than done.

Briefly, we must strictly observe the tough rules of economics. We must see that the principle of effectiveness and efficiency becomes an overriding principle for all and sundry. This is the guiding motive of the second stage of the economic reform, and this is what we are now working on.

The primary task for the entire economic echelon, workers self-management groups, and trade unions is to strengthen economic balance in order to ensure that the mechanisms of the economic reform are able to operate to the full. In this connection I wish to stress that efforts to make every employee realize that he is a comaster of his plant are no theoretical formula that is detached from life. These efforts are an important road to effectiveness.

Please do not regard what I am going to say as a polemical embellishment, but the thing is that our policy of accelerating our development is quite different in nature from the periods of "prosperity" [Last word in English] under capitalism. The reasons for these periods are not, as some people assert, the natural superiority of capitalism. They are primarily the exploitation of the working people, and the exploitation of entire regions of the world. Many of the countries that have fallen into the debt trap have actually become exporters of capital to the main centers of world capitalism, of cheap labor, and of raw materials sold below their real value.

Mr Bernt Conrade from DIE WELT, the FRG, has asked this question: Poland's economic problems, especially the IMF criteria, call for taking radical and painful measures. Which of them do you regard as priority?

On the other hand, Mr Hans Gerlach approached this issue in this way: What about negotiations with the IMF? What will be the economic results for Poland when it joins the IMF?

First of all, I wish to stress that we have never treated and do not treat our joining the IMF and the World Bank as a panacea for solving our debt problems. However, we take the view that Poland's membership of these two institutions should help it to strengthen its position as a participant in the international credit market and as a partner vis-a-vis the credit countries.

Our negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank have just begun and are at an initial stage. That is why the implementation of the second stage of our economic reform, about which I have already spoken, should help create conditions that are consistent with the criteria applied by the two institutions in question in their credit policy.

Without going into details, I wish to stress at this point that it is impossible to consider the present state of our debts without apprising the results of the economic restrictions practiced against us and without taking into account the fact that almost half of our debts consist of the interest and the interest on the interest.

From this it emerges that not one of Poland's creditors has made losses by providing credit to our country, they have not even lost a single cent. On the contrary, creditor countries have already reaped profits both from exports to Poland and from the interest on the credits that financed these exports, and they will continue to do so in the future. In the light of this, it must be found surprising that there is continued resistance to providing Poland with new credits for the financing of imports.

Recently an interesting point of view was put forward by a group of experts at the forum of the so-called European Parliament. I gather that they proposed that the sums that Poland is to repay in upcoming years ought to be turned into credits.

These credits could be designated for development programs, especially those covering export-oriented branches of the economy. It is difficult to reject the logic of this kind of reasoning.

The next series of questions concern Poland's relations with the Soviet Union and the CEMA countries, particularly economic relations. Mr Per Nyholm asked about trends in relations between Poland and the USSR. He went on to say that from the moment that changes occurred in the leadership of the CPSU, one could detect that the Soviet Union has been striving to better coordinate cooperation within the framework of CEMA. Comrade Zorin also asked for comments on the economic integration of socialist states. On the other hand, Comrade Stanislaw Jakutis of the Vilnius paper CZERWONY SZTANDAR asked a question that runs as follows: "All Poland's friends are interested in Poland being a strong, modern, and highly developed state. Under current conditions, the strengthening of the Polish economy depends on the acceleration of the economy's development. In view of this, I would like to ask how this acceleration will be assisted by the creation of joint Polish-Soviet enterprises, the establishment of direct links between industrial combines in both countries, and the expansion of border area cooperation, including cooperation with Lithuania?" Mr Uleman asked how the various activities undertaken in the USSR by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, especially activities in the field of economic liberalization, will affect Poland?

Fraternal cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, which has been conducted for more than 40 years, has acquired a new impetus in recent times. Friendship, the common ideological goals and aspirations of our peoples, the innovative program lines adopted by our parties at their congresses as well as the unity of direction and thought on the part of the leaderships of our parties has created a qualitatively new basis for the expansion of our bilateral relations.

I would consider the great dynamic of cooperation and its comprehensiveness the most characteristic features of this process.

There has been a definite acceleration of joint searches for new forms and areas of cooperation and the practical application of mutually advantageous solutions accepted by both sides. We are ever more effectively departing from formalism and praise-mongering and turning to the concrete, to effectiveness, and to increasing results by way of various forms of integrating intellectual and material resources. There has been an increase in the range and speed of the exchange of information and the frequency of working and direct contacts at all levels.

We describe this form of cooperation between parties, states, and nations as relations of a new kind. They are fundamentally different from the changes occurring between capitalists states, for example, the changes that are taking place in relations between the United States and the countries of Western Europe. I realize that every brief formulation of an idea is, in a certain sense, a simplification. However, the difference I am referring to is the one that separates free market competition from united cooperation.

I would like to underscore that the flow of experience at the community level has many directions. Poland willingly benefits from it and shares its own experience.

We are receptive to all innovative developments with the qualification, of course, that we only introduce mechanisms and solutions that have proved their worth in practice and are appropriate to our needs and actual Poland conditions.

Incidentally, I would like to make a more general observation concerning this topic. Just as there is no place in the contemporary world -- at any rate, in the long run -- for economic autarky, there is no place for what is just as damaging a phenomenon, what I would describe as "intellectual autarky."

This is most fully expressed by the new Soviet philosophy of thought, which is the subject of so much discussion in the world. Fortunately, it is highly "infectious." It has also struck, if one can so put it, the field of the mechanisms of economic cooperation between socialist states.

For a good many years, Poland has consistently supported change in the area of economic integration in our community. These intentions are also shared by other socialist countries. This is good, because effective therapy requires the active participation of all interested parties. There is a need for bold and energetic actions that will make CEMA a more effective, vigorous, and powerful economic region. This is of key importance for all our countries if we are to meet contemporary demands, to meet contemporary challenges. We discussed this extensively at the last Moscow meeting.

Those forms of cooperation that effectively utilize the integration of the production and the intellectual potential of our states ought to be considered among the most important and attractive, especially from the long-term point of view. I have in mind, among other things, the creation of direct ties between enterprises and scientific and production institutes, and the establishment of joint economic units and research centers. The achievements of Polish-Soviet cooperation in this area are continually increasing. The experience of border area exchange that we have hitherto obtained is also encouraging.

If we are talking today about the need to reconstruct the principles of management in our states, this does not mean that we are thus belittling all the historic and decisive achievements of the Soviet Union, Poland, and the entire socialist world.

In a year's time, a significant section of mankind will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In order to better understand and assess the scale of the achievements of the Soviet state, it is worth turning to archival material and old newspaper and periodicals. Having inherited a terribly backward Tsarist Russia, mercilessly bled and greatly weakened by a civil war, a blockade, and by imperialist intervention in particular, the world's first socialist state, after a short respite, paid for the fascist "dream of greatness," for the "Drang nach Osten" with 20 million human lives and incalculable material losses. Despite all these adverse circumstances, the land of the soviets has won achievements of a truly epoch-making character.

Comrade Kare Andre Nilsen of FRIHETEN, Norway, asked: "In your opinion, would it be possible to create a unified European system of economic cooperation, based not only on the participation of the CEMA and EEC states but one that also takes into account the place and role of EFTA states in Europe? What importance do you attach to this third formation? Would it be possible to create a new structure based on three mainstays?"

In view of the current situation, this might seem somewhat idealistic, but one must admit this would be a practice that would bring all-round benefits to the countries of Europe. Having launched initiatives and made proposals concerning the expansion of the general European system of cooperation, Poland has always had and always has in mind all countries and economic formations.

We fully appreciate the important economic role played by EFTA countries in the development of Europe as well as the positive functions of the organization's trade policy for the system of many-sided trade relations that operates under the auspices of GATT.

Besides, we have positive experiences of cooperation with EFTA countries. Even during that most difficult period at the beginning of the eighties, it was marked by stability.

Dutch journalists have raised the subject of joint ventures. They asked to what extent this would constitute an element of the Polish Government's economic policy. How much interest is there in undertakings of this kind at the present time? Can one expect Poland to make greater use of Hungarian models in this field in the future?

The Sejm's approval of a law on joint venture companies in April of this year is a further expression of the consistent introduction in our country of the principles of the economic reform. This presents Polish producers with a new opportunity for the independent intensification of economic ties with enterprises in both socialist and capitalist countries, for an active search for new development possibilities on this basis, and for the maintenance or fostering of production and export-oriented specialization.

The joint venture [last two words in English] or, to give it its Polish name, the joint venture is an efficient channel for the flow of the latest achievements of technical thought and export-oriented marketing. Thus, the law is yet another of those instruments in the government's economic policy that is designed to promote a modernization and restructuring of the production apparatus and the creation of new production strengths with particular attention being given to the country's growing export needs. I stress this: growing export needs.

At the present time, more than 40 Polish enterprises are negotiating appropriate conditions with foreign partners. More than 100 other enterprises have expressed an interest in this form of cooperation. Of course, we cannot expect to produce concrete results in a day or two. So far, one permit has been issued for the setting up of a company of this kind. Those involved in the venture, the object of which is the completion of the operation of the LOT Polish Airlines Passenger Service Center in Warsaw, are Polish Airlines, an Austrian building firm, and an American hotel chain.

We consider Hungarian solutions interesting in this respect, and we are studying the results produced by them. With the acquiring of experience, it is difficult to exclude the possibility of changes being made in the regulations that are currently in force.

Finally, the last question. Mr Michail Kuttnen of the Danish daily BELINGSH-TIDENDE asked me: World opinion about your leadership is divided. Some people see you as reponsible for crushing the first free trade unions in socialist Eastern Europe. On the other hand, there are those who speak of you as the person who saved the country from great danger... How do you see yourself? What place would you like to occupy in the Polish nation's memory?

I am not particularly fond of answering such questions. I think that there are world and Polish issues of greater importance and interest than how I feel or how I see myself.

Perhaps I will begin by saying that there is a Polish proverb which goes: "As you are seen, so you are judged." It means that opinions of people are formed on the basis of what they do, how they behave, how they dress, and so on. Unfortunately, in my case the opposite is often true." As you are judged, so you are seen. This means that first of all an opinion is formulated, and then actions are viewed. Of course, I am not saying this of the press of friendly countries. As for the West, the situation there varied, but, of course, you, gentlemen, are the best informed about this. However, I cannot say that I have sleepless nights because of this. Actually, I do sleep little, but for entirely different reasons.

As for going down in history, I think it is wiser to leave such matters to historians of the next century. There is not reason to hurry.

Those are my replies to the questions that were submitted to me. I am sorry if I did not manage to satisfy everyone's expectations. I apologize if I expressed myself rather brusquely at times and might have offended somebody. This was not done out it ill will but simply in order to indicate more sharply our assessments, thoughts, and intentions.

What is most important is that today's meeting produce greater understanding, which is something that I desire and am counting on very much. This is why there is also an opportunity for you to ask further questions. Mr Podkowinski and I are ready.

Marian Podkowinski: Thank you, Mr Chairman, for this first enormous section that contained so much material. Colleagues, the chairman has expressed a desire to answer questions straight away; we will, therefore, use this opportunity. I will, perhaps, provide only a few technical details. As far as languages are concerned, we have interpreting facilities for Russian, English, French, and German. I understand from Mr Gorski that interpreting from Spanish and Italian is also possible, and there are interpreters in the hall. There are several colleagues with mircophones in the hall who can relay questions. In every case, please provide your name, country, and the name of the media organ you represent. This is just to simplify matters and, being a professional journalist, I would also say that it is for the historical record. Please submit questions by raising a hand or standing up, whichever you wish. Of course, our time is limited.

Tomas Alaksza, MAGYARORSAG, Hungary: As this is my first opportunity to do so, I would also like to convey the following news. The interview that the Comrade General gave to Hungarian television in July received a "diploma of quality." I offer my congratulations. And I have a question: The Consultative Council is to work under and to be attached to the State Council and not to the Council of Ministers, although the Council of Ministers is the executive organ. [Declarative rather than interrogative form as published] And my second question: I apologize if this may sound impolite, but the general is both chairman of the State Council and first secretary of the PZPR. It is all envisaged that these two posts will be separated? Thank you.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: My reply to the first question is that the State Council is an organ whose character and powers are widely known. This is why the proposal to establish a Consultative Council attached to the State Council and closely connected with the the chairman of the State Council is, in our opinion, the most appropriate solution. We wish the Consultative Council, as a social body, to be a forum for serious dialogue between persons representing various communities and various opinions and ideologies, and not a institution of the executive kind.

As for the second question, I do not see it as being annoying, In the one case, the choice was made by the party congress, in the second, by the Sejm. And only these bodies, to be more accurate, the Central Committee and the Sejm, can decide whether the combining of these two posts is appropriate or not. It would not, I believe, be correct for me to comment on and put forward my own arguments.

Vikentiy Matveyev, IZVESTIYA, USSR: Comrade Jaruzelski, before asking a question, on behalf of my comrades and colleagues, I would like to express a great pleasure at having an opportunty to meet you in person, and to take part in a forum such as "Jablonna" has become. In a certain sense it can even be compared with forums such as those that have been in Belgrade and Madrid and the one that is currently being held in Vienna, the differences being that we are subject to the limitations of representatives of the mass media and we cannot, of course, adopt any positions. My question is as follows: Were you surprised by Mrs Thatcher's and President Mitterrand's negative response to the proposal to eliminate both Soviet and American medium-range missiles deployed in Europe. Do you think that the prospect of simultaneously removing both Soviet and American missiles would endanger Poland's security to any degree?

Jaruzelski: The reaction really was surprising. It surprised not only me but also a great many other people. Just as surprising is the reaction -- I shall express this in somewhat extreme terms -- to any case of attempted suicide. After all, the countries of Europe, including Western Europe, ought to be especially interested in removing from this most sensitive area these most deadly and dangerous weapons. Hence, one should express surprise that the leaders of the states mentioned by you assumed this stance, a stance which, in my conviction -- and here I am speaking as a politician but also as a military man -- is incomprehensible and is the cause of deep regret. Unfortunately, this is an expression of the clear and noticeable dependence of certain moves and decisions made by some Western European countries on the global policy being conducted by the United States. In the given case, this dependence deepens divisions in Europe -- as I have already said in answer to earlier questions -- which do not encourage detente and which create an additional area of joint anxiety.

Jan Otto Hange, Norway: I was in Poland 3 years ago. There is no doubt that much has changed for the better since then. A high level of social stability has undoubtedly been obtained. But one thing has not changed: the black market. It seems that Poland has the most highly developed black market in the world at the present time. I am not saying this from the position of someone who bears ill will but I have talked with many Poles, and, incidentally, they were not dissidents, and I was told that one has to be a real artist to live in Poland under current conditions. Can you imagine Poland being a country without a black market in a few years' time?

Wojiech Jaruzelski: It is hard for me to say whether Poland really does have the largest black market in Europe. Of course, we would not wish to hold a record of this kind; we would prefer there to be no black market. The economic activities I spoke about in reply to an earlier question are primarily directed at effecting economic equilibrium. And economic equilibrium means the death of the black market. This is also why we attach so much importance to the second stage of the economic reform, which should contribute to improving the efficiency of our economy, to effecting its full recovery, and to removing every ill and unfavorable phenomenon that still exists in our economy.

Thank you for this observaton, which was delivered in a friendly and concerned way.

Manuel Somosa, PRENSA LATINA Cuba: The government of the United States is experiencing a crisis of confidence following the exposure of secret arms sales to Iran. Part of the money obtained from these sales was diverted to an account belonging to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. This all went on behind the backs of Congress and the American people. What is your assessment of this, and what possible consequences could this fact have for the immediate future of East-West dialogue?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The reply to this question should, I believe, be short and unambiguous. I consider the fact very negative. And this is, I believe, the general opinion of Polish society. Besides, we have expressed this view because we see the situation as having political significance, as well as -- and this too is not without importance -- a negative moral significance, which leaves a mark on relations between states and makes mutual understanding and accord more difficult. I resolutely condemn such activities.

Matthew Vitta, ASSOCIATED PRESS, United States of America: General, it seemed to me that your statement concerning a possible papal visit to Poland contained a certain note of doubt. Do you intend to send an invitation to the pope and what concrete benefits could accrue from such a visit?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I do not know what trace of doubt you could detect in my reply to the question about a papal visit to Poland. I simply replied in a manner that was appropriate to the actual state of affairs. Thus, there is nothing to be added to what I said. Please carefully reexamine the reply that I gave to the question.

Berndt Aishmann, GDR: We are really pushed for time now. Thank you for your reply to my first question and to those asked by my GDR colleagues. I am very pleased that I have an opportunity to make the following observation: I have become converted and wholeheartedly support today's day without a cigarette. But that was just an aside. And now seriously, Comrade General, what has been the response to the proposal that you made in Katowice concerning the holding of an international conference of CSCE signatories in Warsaw in 1989 on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II? And what are the motives behind your proposal?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The motives are simple and obvious. They are the same as those that inspire our entire policy of working toward the expansion and strengthening of what I will call the fabric of peaceful coexistence. For this to happen it is essential that, on the one hand, we remember everything that Europe and the world experienced not so very long ago and, on the other hand, that we recall what Europe and the world may experience if the arms race is not halted and we enter on a further, dangerous spiral. I am of the opinion that such a meeting -- if it were to take place, and that is what we want very much -- would allow us, first of all, to achieve an important political effect, a psychological and moral effect. It would allow us to sit at one table and consider today's most vital issues. This is not a proposal signed to advertise Polish initiative or Polish activeness. It stems from the deep conviction that it is essential to undertake all possible actions that can contribute to better understanding and can relieve various rancors, doubts, and prejudices. And we are of the opinion that both the date and the country -- Poland -- create proper and favorable conditions of both time and place. This has been behind our initiative.

James Hogan, THE WASHINGTON POST, the United States: The lack of concrete results which, as you said, were expected following the September amnesty, gives the impression that a political impasse has been reached in Poland. In fact, it gives the impression that Poland is divided, that there are two sides, that there is the government and, at the same time, Solidarity's underground structures and temporary councils. I would, therefore, like to know whether you intend to tolerate this state of affairs or do you intend to combat it, to eliminate it? What do you intend to do?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I did not speak about a divided Poland. Many times we have drawn attention to the fact that the mass media in the West falsely and wrongly use an expression that on the one side there are the authorities -- the party and the government -- and on the other, society; and that there exists an antagonistic contradiction between two sides. An explanation would take considerable time, and after all we have had an opportunity to talk on this subject more than once, but the facts testify best, and all processes which are taking place in Poland and which are the clear proof that a decisive system, on the ground of constitutional principles, and that it takes active part in overcoming all difficulties that our country is struggling against, that it gives expression to that by taking part in political events of various kinds, such as the election for the Sejm last year. I could give many more such examples. We are not negating, we are not stating that there are no forces or people in Poland who are against the present socialist state, who conduct activities against the state. Here I have, I would yesterday, a transinternational route truck was stopped -- this is a big truck from Sweden -- carrying materials for illegal activities, including 84 most modern publishing machines, printers, and disc drives; several computers; a radio transmitter; and 12 offset printing machines.

I did not cite this fact accidentally, as these forces, these circles which act from illegal positions, contrary to the law and against our state, act on the basis of very close ties and with very strong support from external agents, which thus and in many other ways reinforce them. I judge that if all those who wish Poland well -- or at least say they wish us well -- left us to ourselves, did not help but did not hinder, we would definitely find our own, Polish, sovereign solutions significantly faster, ones that serve the nation and influence the direction which we have accepted and consistently wish to implement: socialist renewal, strengthening the processes of democracy, strengthening pluralism understood in a socialist fashion. Here, against this background, I would like to digress a little. This slogan, the slogan of pluralism, continues to circulate; of course, with such a sub-text that there is no pluralism in Poland. Indeed, for various political pyrotechnicians, pluralism cannot be and will not be understood as immunity. In any case, I judge that it does not exist in other countries. On the other hand, Polish socialist pluralism is wide and will be developed. I stress: The point is socialist pluralism, which is richer in our country and often more authentic than in many countries which make various charges against us in this respect. Pluralism is a specific category, a historical one. We are against conceiving it in such a way -- let us take an example -- pluralism is not for instance, American. Neither American nor miraculous: Pluralism has many historical sources; English, French, Polish, capitalist and Marxist. It has many faces. We will not put on a mask which hides our appearance. In a word, I would like with this reply to simultaneously convince the questioner that the sincerest and deepest intention of our party is to achieve good order in our state, the widening of the plane of national accord, the creation of the widest possibilities for all people and all citizens of our country to participate in these structures, which are today so rich in socialist democracy, which create full possibilities for a political release of energy and an attainment of full satisfaction in solving those tasks which the country faces.

Lothar Leuwe, ADRL television, FRG: General, do you think that a visit to Poland by FRG Chancellor Kohl could be a possibility next year? It could help to improve Poland's relations with the FRG, which, as you said, is Poland's intention.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: As you all know, preparations are being made in the FRG for another election. It is not our business to involve ourselves in them by talking about or counting on this or that visit by this or that person from the state's leadership. But that would, of course, be a formal reply.

The substantive reply should lead -- and this is most important -- to the creation of real facts, to real premises for an improvement in and the development of mutual relations, for which subsequent high-level visits create a kind of superstructure and strengthen these relations and give them new impulses. As I have indicated in replies to earlier questions, there are many problems that require urgent solutions and an urgent cleansing. The sooner this is done, the sooner -- and I think with mutual benefits -- we will be able to meet with representatives of the FRG. We are interested in this.

Gemma Aizpitarte, EFE, Spain: General, I very carefully follow all that is said about restructuring the Polish economy that concerns reducing material- and energy-intensive -- this "key to the recovery of the Polish economy." Unfortunately, progress in this area has not been very great over the last 5 years. Certain Polish economists have formulated the thesis that the decision center is paralyzed and does not want to assume responsibility for unpopular decisions, for closing unprofitable steel plants, cement plants, and other plants. At the same time, the absence of bold decisions aggravates the crisis and might lead to the collapse of the Polish economy. Could I hear your opinion on the subject?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: As I already mentioned, the third plenary session of the Central Committee will shortly be held, in the middle of December. This will be followed by a meeting of the Sejm. These will be important events that are connected with a profound, far-reaching assessment of current economic policy and the directions of its further development.

We have never said that our economic policy is devoid of weakness and mistakes. I personally have admitted this on more than one occasion. Nevertheless, in judging the economic leadership of our country as harshly as you did a moment ago, one should always take account of hard facts and the starting point. Only then is it possible to objectively evaluate the extent to which the work directed by representatives of the government responsible for such matters is correct and effective. I do not wish to go into details, there are a great many of them. But if we look at Poland at the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982 and at what we have today, then we have a right to say that a great deal of progress has been made. Could this progress be greater? Yes, of course it could. But it would be erroneous and unjust to attribute this exclusively to weaknesses of a subjective kind. It would be erroneous because the things that restrict our room to maneuver and impede acceleration were and are the enormous difficulties that we inherited as a result of the mistakes that were made during the seventies. Then there was the great devastation that occurred during the years 1980-81. Later, there were restrictions that caused great harm to our economy and continue to do so to this day. And finally, because we have begun to repay interest on our debt. Previously the situation was different because we received credits and thus made the situation less difficult temporarily.

If we take all this into account, then the picture will be rather more objective. However, having said this, I do not mean to imply -- for I believe that self-criticism is the essence of responsible management -- that there is not much that can be improved in our economy. On the contrary, we must make improvements. And we will work toward this end.

Marian Podkowinski: Thank you, Mr Chairman. Our marathon is at an end -- it lasted 3 hours. On behalf of everyone present here, I would like to thank you sincerely for the time that you have spent replying to these questions. Tradition has been satisfied. Thank you very much. And should one ask when the next Jablonna will take place, the answer is in 2 years' time.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Thank you ladies and gentlemen for listening patiently to what was, after all, a very long exposition. But we do not meet at such forums all that often and it seems to me that the extensive review that I could conduct, thanks to your questions, has enabled you to take note of and better understand certain things. I wish you a happy stay in Poland and I invite you to visit again. Thank you very much.

CHANGES ANNOUNCED IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY

LD232309 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the resolution of the minister of internal affairs, has made the following changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs:

Lieutenant General [General Dywizji] Wladyslaw Pozoga, presently undersecretary of state, has been appointed first deputy minister; Lieutenant General Wladyslaw Ciaston, who is moving to the diplomatic service, has been recalled from the post of undersecretary of state; Major General [General Brygady] Henryk Dankowski has been appointed to the post of undersecretary of state.

MEETING ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS-FREE BALKANS ENDS

AU231419 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1403 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/12/1986 -- A meeting at the level of experts of the Balkan countries on the creation of a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Balkans took place in Bucharest on 22 and 23 December, 1986.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellinic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Republic of Turkey and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were represented at the meeting. The Republic of Turkey took part as an observer.

The participants in the meeting received with particular satisfaction and gave in high appreciation to the message addressed on this occasion by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the meeting, views were exchanged on the transformation of the Balkans into a chemical-weapon-free zone. In this context, each delegation put forward the considerations of its country.

The Romanian delegation presented a draft solemn declaration concerning the proclomation of the Balkans a chemical-weapons-free zone.

The document was received by the participating delegations in order to be conveyed to and examined by the respective governments who would send their responses to the Romanian Government.

The meeting took place in a friendly, business-like and constructive atmosphere, in a spirit of cooperation.

The participants in the meeting were received by Ioan Totu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs. On this occasion an exchange of opinions took place on the problems under discussion at the meeting and the possibilities for the continuation of the efforts in this respect.

The participants in the meeting of the Balkan countries expressed their appreciation for the organization of this meeting, the facilities provided and the hospitality extended to them during their stay in Romania.

BOBU ADDRESSES HIGHER HEALTH COUNCIL MEETING

AU231703 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1522 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/12/1986 -- A plenary meeting of the Higher Health Council was held in Bucharest on December 23 to analyse the activity of the medical personnel in the light of the Thirteenth RCP Congress resolutions on the steady improvement of the population's health condition. New tasks were set for a higher quality of prophylactic actions.

The plenary meeting was attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who also addressed the attendance.

The participants in the plenary meeting sent a telegram to RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

BORBA COMMENTS ON USSR'S ALMA-ATA DEMONSTRATIONS

LD232139 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (TANJUG) -- The recent student demonstrations in Kazakhstan, the second largest Soviet republic whose population includes members of all of the Soviet Union's 110 peoples and ethnic groups, are closely connected with both inter-nationality relations and the present changes in Soviet society, the Yugoslav daily BORBA writes today.

The demonstrations of university and secondary school students in the streets of Alma-Ata, the Kazakh capital, did not come as a surprise to those familiar with Soviet conditions, says the daily.

First, for nearly ten years, Kazakhstan's social and economic development plans were not being fulfilled, even though reports to the contrary were being regularly issued in Alma-Ata.

Secondly, a few days before the demonstrations, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party Dinmukhamed Kunayev (74) was removed from the office he held for the past 22 years. He was succeeded by Gennadiy Kolbin (59), an ethnic Russian, which can be considered a surprise as it was not expected that the republic's party leader would no longer be a Kazakh. The Kazakhs are the second-largest community in the republic -- the first are the Russians -- but the order is not the same so far as the posts in its top leadership are concerned.

BORBA notes that "discord" in inter-nationality relations has been felt in some environments in the Soviet Union for some time now. Closely connected with this is the opening of debates on many "taboo themes" in Soviet society which doubtless include inter-nationality relations.

BORBA says that the outbreak of demonstrations in Alma-Ata was also influenced by religion, which is often -- and not only in Kazakhstan -- equated with nation.

ARTUKOVIC'S CLEMENCY REJECTION, LEGAL OPTIONS

LD232212 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, December 23 (TANJUG) -- The Presidency of Yugoslavia has rejected an appeal for clemency lodged on the part of convicted war criminal Andrija Artukovic (86), who was sentenced to death by the District Court of Zagreb on May 14, on charges of war crimes against civilian population and prisoners-of-war.

The sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court of Croatia on July 24, and the Federal Court of Yugoslavia, as the last regular legal instance, on September 2.

The appeal for clemency was lodged ex officio by the Federal Secretariat for Justice because Artukovic, his relatives and his lawyers had failed to do so. In such cases, the Yugoslav Amnesty Act of 1977 provides for the ex officio lodging of clemency appeals.

The only remaining venue for Artukovic and his lawyers now are three special legal remedies -- an appeal for extraordinary mitigation of the sentence lodged with the federal court, an appeal for re-trial lodged with the court of first instance, and an action for the protection of legality which can be instituted by the federal public prosecutor.

As Interior Minister of the puppet government of the so-called "independent state of Croatia" -- a wartime quisling creation on Yugoslav territory -- Artukovic was responsible for the genocide over Serbs, Jews and Gypsies which continued for four years, and for the physical extermination of antifascists regardless of nationality. The Ustasha "minister of death" personally ordered the setting-up of concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were killed.

For decades Artukovic -- the "Balkan Himmler" as the world press dubbed him -- had managed to escape justice, to be finally extradited by the United States to Yugoslavia on February 12 this year. The request for his extradition, originally submitted to the U.S. Government by competent Yugoslav authorities on March 31, 1951, was renewed on August 21, 1984.

PRESIDENCY SUBMITS NAMES OF COUNCIL NOMINEES

LD240024 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has submittd to the SFRY Assembly a proposal for the election of 29 prominent revolutionaries and sociopolitical workers to the council of the federation.

The following have been proposed: Milutin Baltic; Dimce Belovski; Stipe Bilan; Jure Bilic; Dusan Bodgdanov-Senko; Tome Bukleski; Marijan Cvetkovic; Nijaz Dizdarevic; Vaska Duganova; Risto Dzunov; Dr Aleksandar Grlickov; Ivo Jerkic; Hajrudin Hajro Kapetanovic; Danilo Kekic; Nikola Kmezic; Vjera Kovacevic; Ivan Kukoc; Dragoslav Markovic; Dr Ljubisav Markovic; Stojan Milenkovic; Zoran Polic; Mitja Ribicic; Vlado Scekic; Mijusko Sibalic; Branislav Skembarevic; Mika Spiljak; Ilija Topalovski; Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic; and Dr Anton Vratusa.

The SFRY Presidency has also proposed that the following members whose mandate expired on 21 December be reelected to the Council of the Federation: Vicko Antic; Ljubo Babic; Julij Beltram; Jakov Blazevic; Ivan Branko; Dr Marijan Brecelj; Bogdan Crnobrnja; Mikoslav Cangalovic; Boro Causev; Veli Deva; Ante Drndic; Rato Dugonjic; Strahil Gigov; Dr Dragisa Ivanovic; Mihajlo Javorski; Dusan Korac; Milija Kovacevic; Sreta Kovacevic; Todo Kurtovic; Niko Mihaljevic; Iko Mirkovic; Dr Isidor Papo; Hakija Pozderac; Ida Sabo; Dusan Sekic-Saca; Nikola Sekulic; Tankosava Simic-Ana; Bosko Siljegovic; Milos Sumonja; Franc Tavcar; Vida Tomsic; Josip Vidmar; Olga Vrabic; and Milan Vukasovic.

CELEBRATIONS, ADDRESSES COMMEMORATE ARMY DAY

Presidency Decrees Promotions

AU232059 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- By the decree of the SFRY Presidency, Lieutenant Generals Zdravko Dimic and Slavko Djurdjevic are promoted to the rank of colonel general, and Major Generals Ramiz Abduli, Zivota Avranovic, Ilija Boric, Simeon Buncic, Dr Nikola Cubura, Dr Mico Chusic, Dragisa Drljevic, Slavoljub Djokic, Konrad Kolsek, Nikola Maravic, Ali Muhadjiri, Edvard-Slavoljub Pavcic, Sakib Pozderac, Ivan Radanovic, Alojz Vesic, and Danilo Zezelj are promoted to the rank of lieutenant general.

Rear Admirals Milan Nikolic and Petar-Krsto Simic are promoted to the rank of vice admiral.

Colonels Jevrem Cokic, Ljubomir Domazetovic, Dragutin Djurickovic, Vladimir Djurovic, Milan Grujic, Fikret Jakic, Mirko Mandic, Dragutin Ozbolt, Berislav Rosic, Leopold Rozanc, Andrija Silic, Ivo Tominc, Tomislav Trajcevski, Teodor Troha, Dusan Uzelac, Vukasin Vilotic, Miodrag Vukadinovic, and Bozidar Vuksanovic are promoted to the rank of major general.

Captains [kapetan bojnog broda] Josip Erceg, Miodrag Jokic, and Fridrih Moreti are promoted to the rank of rear admiral.

Officers Decorated

LD200236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 19 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- By decree of the SFRY Presidency, on the occasion of 22 December Day of the Yugoslav People's Army, the following officers have been decorated for their services in the development and consolidation of peaceful cooperation and friendly relations between the SFRY and other states, as well as for exceptional services in their work on the development of citizens' awareness in the struggle for the country's independence:

Colonel-Generals Zorko Canadi, Veljko Kadijevic and Perica Vucetic have been decorated with the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Sash.

Colonel-Generals Georgije Jovicic, Eugen Lebaric and Metodija Stefanovski, and Lieutenant-Colonel-General Mujo Mujkic have been decorated with the Order of the Republic with Golden Sash for exceptional services in the field of public activities, which contributes to the country's general progress.

The Order of Meritorious Service for the People with Golden Star for exceptional services and achieved results in the work of importance for the socialist development of the country have been presented to Admiral Sveto Letica and Lieutenant-Colonel-General Martin Spegelj.

Lieutenant-Colonel-General Zivorad Lazarevic has been decorated with the Order of Brotherhood and Unity with Golden Wreath for exceptional services in the creation and development of brotherhood and unity among our nations and nationalities.

Hasani Greets Armed Forces

LD211202 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 21 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a message to members of the SFRY Armed Forces on the occasion of Yugoslav Army Day, 22 December:

Comrade soldiers, sailors, cadets, officers, and civilians serving in the Armed Forces:

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, I send you greetings on Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Day, 22 December.

Participating in the great battle being waged by the working class, working people, and citizens of our country under the leadership of the LC for further socialist social development, economic stabilization, improvement of socialist self-management, and the strengthening of the equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities, and the strengthening of Yugoslavia's international position, you, with your self-sacrificing work, have this year too, succeeded in strengthening even more the military readiness and moral-political strength of the Armed Forces, thus contributing to the shoring-up of our community's defensive power. Firmly integrated with working people and citizens in the united system of all people's defense and social self-protection, you have confirmed that our Armed Forces are developing consistently on the bases of the achievements of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution.

The unity of the Armed Forces and working people and citizens, the foundations of which were laid in the revolution, and which was developed and enriched in the process of the development of our socialist self-managing society, is a powerful basis upon which in the future, too, the strength of our defense will be developed and intensified.

It is necessary that you constantly invest efforts, "each individually and all together," as Comrade Tito often used to say, and persevere unhesitatingly so that your units, institutions, commands and headquarters are always ideopolitically united, morally sound, and equipped with the expertise to carry out tasks in all conditions.

I wish you fresh successes in the performance of these very responsible tasks.

Hasani Addresses Delegation

LD221858 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Day, Sinan Hasani, president of the SRFY Presidency and members of the Presidency, together with most senior officials of the federation, today received in the Palace of the Federation a delegation of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, led by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense. Also present at the reception were Milanko Renovica, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and member of the SFRY Presidency, Ivo Vrandecic, president of the SFRY Assembly, Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, Ljubisa Korac, secretary general of the SFRY Presidency, and Major General Zarko Vujasinovic.

Greeting guests and all members of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, President Hasani, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on the occasion of YPA Day, said among other things:

"Marking great dates in the National Liberation War and revolution, such as the day of the birth of the YPA, we convey our thoughts and feelings of deepest reverence on this occasion, too, to the deeds of Josip Broz Tito, strategist of the national liberation struggle and revolution, Supreme Commander, creator of the conception of all-people's defense and social self-protection, great statesman, and a creator of the nonalignment policy, who raised Yugoslavia's reputation onto a high pedestal in the world.

"We are at the end of 1986, when we take stock of the economic and overall social development of the country. Proceeding from the congress decisions, our society has started a decisive struggle to find a way out of the existing crisis and to overcome the difficulties confronting us.

A series of measures has been taken, especially concerning the resolution on the policy of sociopolitical development for the year ahead, and the adoption of systemic measures designed to ensure conditions for solving key questions and facilitate our more dynamic and rapid development. In addition, a series of actions have been initiated for the further development of socialist self-management, and a proposal has been prepared on how to carry out constitutional changes. An energetic struggle has also been initiated against our own weaknesses, for the execution and consistent implementation of the decisions adopted, and for the strengthening of responsibility. At the same time, we have also started a determined battle against all antisocialist phenomena and forces, which appear most frequently from positions of nationalism, the bourgeois right, or come from the so-called leftwingers. In this, the struggle against greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo and all other nationalisms in Kosovo and beyond has a special place.

"Despite all the well-known difficulties, this year we have achieved results worthy of attention in many fields. Industrial and agricultural production has been increased, the market is well supplied, a certain growth in labor productivity has been achieved, the number of those in employment has increased to a certain extent, greater foreign exchange income from tourism has been generated, and we are regularly paying off debts to foreign creditors, and so forth.

"In today's exacerbated relations in the world, in the atmosphere of distrust, with the existence of several hotbeds of war, armed interventions and other forms of danger to security, and in parallel with the struggle for peace and the peaceful solution of the open problems between peoples and states, we must constantly strengthen our defense and self-protection capability.

"Our Armed Forces, particularly the YPA, are equipped with modern armaments and military equipment, the result of great efforts by the whole community, by all our working people and citizens. Of particular significance is the fact that we produce the greatest part of these armaments and military equipment with our own resources.

We will resolutely advocate the continued strengthening of the popular and working class character of the YPA and the Armed Forces as a whole. The Army has been and will remain a true factor in forging brotherhood and unity and the common armed strength of all our nations and nationalities, as it was created by the LCY and Comrade Tito.

"Finally, allow me to pay my respects on behalf of the SFRY Presidency on this occasion to you, the leading cadres and all members of the Armed Forces, for the efforts you have invested, the results achieved in the development of our Armed Forces, and the strengthening of the system of all-peoples defense and social self-protection. As always, it is up to you to be the sure defender of independence, freedom and the territorial integrity of the SFRY, and a reliable support to the working class and working people in the construction of socialist self-managing society."

Dizdarevic Greets Mamula

LD210323 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 20 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- In connection with Army Day, Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has sent most cordial greetings to Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and to all members of the SFRY Armed Forces. The telegram stresses that 22 December is marked as one of the most celebrated dates of our national libration struggle and revolution.

It is also a reason for us to remind ourselves of the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in preserving our independent and nonaligned homeland and in developing our socialist self-managing society of the equal nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Mamula Pays Tribute to Tito

LD221450 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Day, a delegation of the SFRY Armed Forces led by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, Colonel General Zorko Canadi, YPA chief of general staff, and Georgije Jovicic, president of the JNA LCY Organization Presidium, today visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center and laid flowers on the tomb of their supreme commander, Marshal of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. Immediately after the laying of the flowers, members of the delegation signed the House Flowers' visitors' book beneath the following words:

"Today, the 45th anniversary of the YPA, members of the SFRY Armed Forces express their deep respect for you, their supreme commander. You demonstrated your revolutionary political and military genius during the most fateful moments in the history of our nations and nationalities and with your thinking, life, and in what you did during a period of over four decades, inspiring the generations of the architects of our socialist self-managing society and the defenders of the achievements of the revolution. This inspiration, your thinking, and your work are for us a lasting source of militant and moral strength in the further development of the socialist revolution and the most powerful motivation to defend even more resolutely the integrity of the homeland and its self-managing socialist being. We are continuing your immortal work proudly, consistently, and with perseverance."

After laying flowers, Admiral Mamula talked with representatives of the memorial center, showing an interest in the future activities of the center in preserving the name and deeds of Josip Broz Tito.

Tito's Military Theory Lauded

LD212040 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 21 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG) -- Josip Broz Tito's conception that every country and every nation, regardless of size, can resist an aggressor more successfully by establishing an original form of military organization founded on its own forces has become a legacy to the world, and has been proven time and again through liberation and revolutionary movements in the twentieth century -- Admiral Branko Mamula, Yugoslav secretary for national defence, today said on the occasion of the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Adm. Mamula pointed out Tito's practical and theoretical activities on the formation of a qualitatively new theory of war skills in a total national war, characterized by a specific combination of military organizational structure of the type of regular army and a partizan way of fighting.

Mamula spoke about Tito's contribution to military-scientific thought at a celebration held in the "Marshal Tito" Armed Forces Centre for Strategic Research and Studies and the Senior Military School in Belgrade.